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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2866

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FIRST-HAND REPORT ON COUNTRY'S DETERIORATING LIVING CONDITIONS

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 10 Sep 83 pp 32-37

[Article by Rui Ramos]

[Text] Four years after the death of the man who was the tutelary leader of the struggle for the independence of Angola, the country is convulsed by an extremely dramatic situation. The following is the polemical testimony of an observer who has closely followed the Angolan situation since 1974.

Luanda, February 1983. Eight years after raising the ruby and black flag of independence, 5,000 hands make the sign of the cross on that hot Saturday afternoon in the Alto das Cruces Cemetery opposite the Miramar Garden, now completely dry.

Dr Africano Neto, well-known physician and until 2 years ago director of the Luanda Psychiatric Hospital, had just been buried.

The funeral eulogy, pronounced by Manuel Rui Monteiro, Luanda attorney and intellectual (author of "Quem me Dera Ser Onda," a novel about a pig raised in an apartment after independence) but seeming rather to be a lampoon by the interdicted Angolan opposition;

"The person guilty of your death is the one who kept you from practicing your profession. You, who have saved so many persons from suicide, came to an end by committing suicide. Your name will certainly not be given to any street."

The psychiatrist had committed suicide 2 days earlier, after dinner, in the presence of his children. Forced into unemployment by Health Minister Mendes de Carvalho, he left behind him a life of frustrations, having been obliged to beg bread for his family.

Still a member of the National Health Council, he expressed the opinion that a certain patient should go abroad for treatment in the company of a family member who had been helping him regularly. However that was not the opinion of the minister, who decided to replace the companion's name with that of one of his relatives. The physician maintained and defended his opinion, which earned

him the persecution of Mendes de Carvalho, culminating in being banned from practicing medicine in the country.

#### Generalized Mental Illness

Africano Neto is linked to the drama of thousands of persons since 1975. Hunger, long lines, persecution, arbitrary arrests, the systematic disappearance of persons have changed life into an inferno. People of all ages are suffering from mental illness. The director of the Luanda Psychiatric Hospital tries to introduce new therapy but is rapidly overcome by the number of patients. He had to see as many as 50 persons a day. The incurable wandered through the streets, slept in garbage containers, where they also ate. They bathed in the gutters.

Taking advantage of a structure left by the Portuguese, Africano Neto tried to create a therapeutic complex by working in his spare time. In 1980 the work was inaugurated in the presence of Minister Mendes de Carvalho. To the horror of those present, the minister made it clear: this was a rest clinic for party and government leaders.

His replacement as the head of the hospital, Raul Neto who studied medicine in Romania and the corps of Cuban advisers, in collaboration with the police, launched a campaign to capture thousands of mentally deficient persons who wandered through the streets of the capital. Days later, however, the operation was interrupted.

"Unfortunately, we cannot continue picking up the insane, because we don't have food for them," the new director declared publicly.

In the eyes of the silent multitude the image remains of the health minister who, in the middle of the ceremony, abandons the official party, scowling, wearing his blue cap and carrying a blue balalaika, closely followed by his bodyguard as they head for his blue Fiat 132--to which he has a right as a member of the government.

#### Privileged Caste

Mendes de Carvalho, one of the old political prisoners of the PIDE [Police for the Control of Foreigners and Defense of the State], is today the leader of the so-called "Catete group" in the divided MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee, having in the meantime been relieved a short time ago of his position as health minister. Suffering from terrible complexes, he gave a speech for the Portuguese in commemoration of a 25 April and did not allow the delegations of his department to travel abroad by way of Lisbon. On one occasion after this had happened, in our presence--by inference, the health minister is president of the Angolan Red Cross--he connected his telephone with Lisbon and said to one of the members of a delegation:

"Who told you to go by way of Lisbon? When you get to Luanda you're all going to be arrested! Well, as long as you are there you can buy parts for my Peugeot. Bring the receipts with you. This expense is to be paid by the top level of the Ministry. Don't come back without the parts!"

He ordered an elevator installed for his second floor lodgings in Maculusso. This is a right that pertains to him as well as to all the leaders of the party and the state, in addition to the chauffeur, bodyguard, laundress, cook, gardener, waiter, a white Fiat 132 (member of the Central Committee), a Range Rover [as published] (same reason) and a blue Fiat 132 (minister).

As everyone knows, the MPLA stands out in the country's political life as "the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, the directing class on the road struggling toward socialism" and its leaders declare themselves to be representatives of the working class. The official propaganda considers that the internal enemy is the "petty bourgeoisie." (Lopo do Nascimento, when he was prime minister, went so far as to say: "We must smash in the teeth of the petty bourgeoisie").

If the "workers' representatives" can make themselves into a caste of privileged members with the mission of running the business of the state, then the generalized criticism of institutionalized socialism, today common on the level of the ordinary citizen, the return of private property and even, here and there, the return of the Portuguese, is seen as the lesser evil.

The days of independence are already far in the past. Much has changed in the People's Republic of Angola, to the desperation of many old fighters against colonialism.

#### Struggle for Survival

"At the end of all these years we still have not been able to define the role that private enterprise should and can have in the process of commercialization, when left without regulation"--as was written in the magazine NOVEMBRO (Luanda, April 1983). And later:

"The balance sheet of these and many other contradictions in our ailing commercial machine, together with the low level of production and high level of purchasing power, has produced up to now the most unproductive asset we possess--the waiting lines. Perhaps we could even say we invent "bureaucratic lines" since the only thing lacking is a piece of stamped paper permitting a purchase, since an identity card is already required."

The daily formation of interminable lines in all urban centers in front of the state-owned stores has come about as a consequence of the progressive degradation of the economic situation, the increase of hunger and bankruptcy. The "arrangement" resorted to by the majority of the population has arisen as a way of acquiring a few basic items. Bread, rice, sugar, milk. . . are acquired by means of "arrangements," by swapping, a real "struggle for survival." Hence the popular expression "arranged socialism." . . . (See O Esquema, p 25-R)

Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the republic, declared in 1982 that the production of foodstuffs for the population in 1981 had been lower than the 1980 production. Milk production came to 59 percent of the planned figure and edible oils and soap did not even reach half their planned goals, for which reason imports generally increased (the port of Luanda handled 8000,000 tons of merchandise in 1981, 500,000 tons of it being imports.)

In Luanda, in 1979, ENSUL [Luanda Supermarket Enterprise] (a state enterprise) was created. It imports directly, warehouses and sells through 10 state-owned outlets. According to the director general, "superfluous" goods such as pickles, garlic, powdered pepper "serve only to remind homemakers that there is no fish, meat, or cuttlefish, foods which are hard to find at the official prices."

The panorama observed in retail trade is the same in all urban centers (in the countryside there is purely and simply no trade): the rare existing stores show little more than empty shelves and a couple of dozing clerks. When one of the stores has the privilege of receiving one-kilo bags of sugar or rice, dense crowds head for the place, forming lines kilometers long, with the "self-defense" (ODP [Organization of Popular Defense]) intervening frequently with swords. The lines reach to the point of even challenging the rigorous obligatory curfew that reigns in almost all cities. In a country that has not sold plates and forks for 8 years a simple can of scouring powder, a cake of soap, a kilo of sugar, a can of milk, a loaf of bread, for example, create a social disturbance so severe that it can cause death (How many persons have met death in the lines?).

#### Infernal Crying Noises

However, "wheedling" and "parallel markets" are everywhere in existence in broad daylight. In Huambo, where desperate hunger prevails, a loaf of bread sells for 400 kwanzas (1 kwanza = 4 escudos), a cup of flour for 800 kwanzas; in Dondo a glass of beer sells for 100 kwanzas; in Lunda-Norte 10 pastihas elásticas [translation unknown] sell for 1000 kwanzas; in Malange a bag of cornmeal that legally costs 1000 kwanzas sells for 15,000; sugar (22 kwanzas) is sold everywhere for 1500 kwanzas a kilo; a little can of vegetable oil costs 1500; a kilo of salt costs 1,000, 1 egg, 100, a can of milk 3,000 kwanzas.

The magazine NOVEMBRO, in its issue No. 56, spells it out in greater detail.

"For anyone to go to any of the markets and carry home a reasonable larder, one will have to spend a minimum each week, in the official market, of course, the quantity of 5,000 kwanzas. When accounts are cast this comes to 20,000 kwanzas a month, to which must be added the rent for the house, water, light and other food. . .The honest worker gets home and steps into an infernal noise of crying. . .the children are hungry!

As far as the average income is concerned, the situation is no better. Employees in the cleaning industry earn 3500 kwanzas (in 1980 the government lowered their pay, which had been 5,000 kwanzas), loading and unloading personnel make 5,000, typists 5,700, chauffeurs 7,000, unskilled labor, 7,000, section leaders, 12,900, journalists 12,000. Ministers get 25,000, not counting the wages of their employees and their other perquisites in addition to the payment of house rent. Rent subsidies amount to 1,000 kwanzas for a living room and 500 for a bedroom.

For its part, the UNTA [National Union of Workers of Angola], created by the party, is far from carrying out its designated statutory role as "defender

of the laboring masses." Worried about "socialist emulation," which always falls far short of its goals, UNTA's representatives constantly oversee the productivity of the workers and channel a large part of the obligatory quotas for expenses to their sophisticated dance band and to their powerful First Division professional club (which has a foreign trainer paid in foreign exchange), to which it has given the name of "1 May," in addition to having to pay the thousands of professional union members who make up its cadres.

The problem of cadres in general is also one of the most worrisome questions today in the RPA [People's Republic of Angola]. Faced with the vacancies caused by the departure of Portuguese cadres and technicians in 1975, the MPLA policy of intolerance and rigidity has aggravated the situation even more. In 1977 more than 1,000 Angolan cadres were in prison for political reasons and many others were obligated to leave the country by constant persecution in their places of employment.

#### Theft--National Institution

The supply situation in 1983 is much worse than in was in 1982, even though there are no data on the problem. However in December of 1982 the Ministry of Home Trade publicly declared that the population would be without a food supply at least during the first quarter of 1983, which also included a lack of meat, since imports were suspended. In December 1982 the only article sold (a Christmas present) was a jug of Portuguese wine, for 600 kwanzas.

The ELA dairy products plant (now CELL [expansion unknown]--a state enterprise) in Luanda, which during the colonial period produced fresh milk, Flemish and Serra cheese, butter, yogurt, cream, etc., reopened in 1977 with Portuguese advisors and began a "sui generis" production. The EEC and the US regularly send large quantities of powdered milk fortified with vitamins "for the Angolan people". The bags, which can be seen in the installations of CELL, bear the legend: "Not for sale" (The bags given by the US bear the design of two offering hands and the legend "Not for sale"). At any rate, the milk is mixed with water and bottled in one-liter containers, which are then sold at 15 kwanzas each to employees of strategic enterprises, embassies and foreign enterprises, to state stores and to the principal football clubs in the First Division, on requisition. On the black market each container costs 100 kwanzas.

Such "pilfering" is already a national institution. This is what one reader wrote to the previously cited magazine NOVEMBRO:

"The Delegation of the Ministry of Home Trade here in Cunene exists in name only. Its products are seen when they are unloaded, but they are not distributed. Thus many people make requisitions. Even so, however, the delegation says that the provincial commissioner has ordered all kinds of requisitions to be cancelled. This complaint now comes from Ngiva (formerly Pereira d'Eca). And in Lubango we are undergoing the same situation. At bottom, Home Trade is selling products, including whiskey, to its friends. None of that is sold to the people. They distribute things among themselves. I have children in school. I submitted a requisition to buy raincoats and rubbers, but I did

not get them because they told me that the sale of those items had been cancelled by the provincial commissioner." (This letter was published a year ago, as the magazine still has this social function--but the truth is that the concrete results are always nil).

#### Hierarchy of Supply

However, how does the state supply system work?

The system shows several characteristics: the supply card (forever indissolubly tied to the governmental activity of the MPLA), stores graded according to a social hierarchy, rationing, weekly shopping recorded on the supply card, denial of credit, refusal to sell to anyone who does not work, including students.

The state monopolizes imports, warehouse facilities and retail sales. State enterpriser have been created for those purposes, subordinate to the Ministry of Home Trade [MINCI], under whose authority all merchandise remains, to be later channeled through a complex sales network, depending on criteria of priority, generally as follows:

1. Directors' store (ministers, deputy ministers, members of the Central Committee of the MPLA, FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] General Staff, secretaries of the central labor organization, the MPLA youth and the OMA [Organization of Angolan Women], in addition to the national directories of the ministries). The appropriate credentials must be presented on admission. Whiskey, wine and beer are sold and there is a "boutique" for the wives of the highest officials. There is a supermarket a fish market, a meat market and a produce department. It is the famous Zamba 9.
2. Cooperants' store. With the proper credentials, one may shop in a mini-market and a meat market (two kilos of frozen meat per week).
3. Party store, for functionaries of the party with proper credentials.
4. Store for leaders (department heads, technicians), with a mini market containing few supplies but with a meat market, fish market, soft drinks and manufactured products. Here too proper credentials are necessary for admittance.
5. Meat and fish markets for blood donors, with a strict control on donations exercised on entering. If the donor goes more than 3 months without giving blood he loses the right to buy fish and meat.
6. Meat and fish market for invalids--the doctor issues a prescription specifying that the patient should eat meat and fish. With the authenticated prescription, the invalid goes to the distributor who issues a credential giving him the temporary right to buy two kilos of meat and five of fish each week.

7. People's stores, the lowest step on the ladder of distribution, for the manual laborers and minor clerks who possess only the common "supply card." Purchases are made once a week and require presentation of the "card," (which is the citizen's most important document), of the B.I. [expansion unknown] and of a declaration of services attesting that services have been performed.

All "supply cards" are valid for 1 year. Failure to buy during any week does not give the right to any later compensatory purchase.

#### Organized or Controlled?

In these almost vacant stores (some of them are completely empty) the few items actually for sale are severely rationed. Recently, every addition to the family, without regard to how many are involved, has a right every fortnight to one kilo of sugar and one of rice, one 750 ml. can of oil and one tube of toothpaste.

In the capital there is also the Diplomatic Store [ANGODIPLO], where the foreigners shop if they have bank accounts in foreign currency, in addition to the ministers and central committee members. This is the best-stocked establishment, which can even sell bread at \$1.00 a loaf.

Thus the worth of the citizen is only that of the job he performs. Only MPLA militants rise to be directors-general. For this reason there are great struggles for higher positions in the services, which give a right to "supply cards" for the special stores.

Jose Eduardo dos Campos himself stated a short time ago:

"The volume of production has not corresponded to the quantities fed into the legal circuits of distribution due to the detouring of goods to illegal circuits of trade and parallel markets where the prices are not controlled ( . . . ) This situation causes the rapid enrichment of the wheedlers, an uncontrolled increase in the cost of living. ( . . . ) In addition to that it also forces us to put more money into circulation without the corresponding counterpart of merchandise, because the speculators keep their money at home, thus causing inflation.

The organization of the economy or the political control of the country: one of these tasks had to be given priority over the other. As one crosses the country from east to west one finds the party structures in place even down to the village level. At the same time there is an enormous economic vacuum.

It shall not be a surprise, then, that in the Province of Quanza-Norte, for example, according to official data, there are only 15,222 workers in a population of 487,500 inhabitants.

#### The Stone Business

However, there is a sector of economic life that has especially begun to worry the authorities in Luanda. This is the mining industry. The 1981-85 directive

for the extractive industry, prepared by the MPLA, emphasizes the existence in Angola of fluorides, radioactive minerals, copper, phosphates, sulfur, asphaltites, iron, manganese, tungsten, tin, gold, granite, coal and bauxite, in addition to petroleum and diamonds.

At the close of 1977 a group of Soviet geologists went to Angola where, after a time, they drew up a map of minerals showing the promising regions, established an order of research and made recommendations regarding the prospection of several minerals. Finally, they drew a detailed geological map.

In its turn, beginning in 1977, the Angolan Government, through the intermediary of SONANGOL, initiated contacts with various foreign businesses with the goal of investigating and exploiting petroleum in Angola.

At this moment Cabinda Gulf, Petrofina, Texaco, Elf, Total, Petrobras, Agip, Catermar and Dowel are operating in Angola, in addition to other companies. Between 40 and 50 oil wells a year are being drilled, the production in the Soyo basin (Zaire Province) being 60,000 barrels a day and in Cabinda 100,000.

Due to the diminution of foreign exchange that has taken place since independence, the government had to turn to mining as a way to reduce the enormous foreign debt. The purchase of luxury automobiles for its leaders, the exorbitant subsidies granted abroad, the payment of a growing number of unproductive cooperants, the purchase of rather costly war material from the Soviet Union and miscellaneous expenditures (for example, the decoration of the Kalandula Inn, for leaders, cost the state \$450,000, according to Riccy Oscar, chief engineer of the work) further impede the importing of foodstuffs.

The authorities have recently come to the conclusion that diamonds, an important source of foreign exchange, were not being advantageously handled by the state, due to the lack of control in mining and marketing them. This occurred notwithstanding the fact that a section of State Security is devoted exclusively to diamonds: the black market was quite well developed and the diamonds were being taken to Portugal, where great fortunes were made, to the prejudice of Angola, which did not receive its foreign exchange.

Then in February of this year an important repressive campaign was undertaken against the diamond smugglers which sent nearly 700 suspects, both Portuguese and Angolan, to prison, subject to sentences of more than 8 years of imprisonment. This campaign, which is being directly coordinated by the Portuguese Judiciary Police--and on which EXPRESSO published a story at the time--has the collaboration of Interpol and Angolan Judiciary and Security. Many advisers from the Portuguese Judiciary Police are lending their services in Angola at this moment and their effectiveness seems to have made the "stone business" retreat temporarily.

#### Bodies Traded for Food

Youth is obviously the principal victim of the current situation in the RPA. The JORNAL DE ANGOLA for 20 October 1982 wrote that "the state of the schools is lamentable, painful and unacceptable, due to the lack of seats, window glass and cleanliness."

It is very frequent for girls to resort to prostitution, giving themselves to cooperants for a can of beer or a shot of whiskey, a package of cigarettes, a pair of shoes or plastic sandals, a plate of food; "going to school pregnant," according to the same Luanda newspaper, which added: "Aid to violated children in Luanda maternity wards has become commonplace."

The Health Ministry itself recognizes today that venereal diseases are now epidemic and resist the strongest antibiotics.

Furthermore, the number of children engaged in crime is steadily growing. According to the National Department for the Reeducation of Minors, 23,248 crimes of theft, drugs, homicide, speculation and assault were committed by 3,532 minors (majority occurs at 18 years of age) in 1981, all of them leading to arrest. The same organism alerted the public to the "frightening increase in pre-delinquent minors."

A case of discrimination in education was recorded less than a year ago in the former S. Jose de Cluny School in Luanda. As it was one of the best schools, the government planned to make it a "model school," not for the best students but for children of the leaders of the MPLA-PT and of the state. In the middle of the academic year the decision was made to transfer all the pupils. The parents got stirred up, protested and revolted, managing to postpone the transfer.

"If Minister Mendes de Carvalho has his children studying in the United States and the others have their children studying in Portugal, why can't I have my child in this school?", one parent asked Graciano Mande, vice minister of education for basic education, as she gave vent to her feelings.

#### Chaos in the Cities

However, it is not only the state of the schools that is lamentable, painful and unacceptable.

If it is true that the colonial cities were built more with the intent of easy profits than as a function of esthetic concerns and public health, it is nonetheless true that since independence the new government has nothing to preserve what was already built.

"In Luanda more than 100 buildings are already considered uninhabitable due to their advanced state of deterioration," according to the official press.

Cesspools are overflowing, water does not flow to upper rooms, there is no light and garbage accumulates on terraces and in the streets. The city has no gardens and the raw and naked truth is that the slums of Luanda are larger today than they were 7 years ago (JA, December 1972).

One of the largest buildings in the City of Uije (formerly Carmona) collapsed completely in October of last year because of great cracks caused by the water table extending to the piers.

Neither is the notable urban explosion unrelated to the critical state of the cities. The population of the countryside, tired of hunger and without clothes to wear, is moving to the cities in search of a better life.

In 1940 the urban population was 3.4 percent of the total; in 1970, 15 percent; in 1980, 23 percent. By the year 2000 it is anticipated 50 percent, with a third of the total in Luanda.

With civil construction paralyzed, the people build their own residences precariously, due to the lack of materials. The result is that the slums are spreading in all directions, with all their problems.

Buildings made of cement, abandoned by the colonists, were occupied by the leaders, the foreign cooperants and the Zairian "returnees."

Evictions are a daily occurrence. When the authorities need a building and it is occupied by members of the population, they send the police to evict them. A curious coincidence: early this year the tenants of a building on the former Brasil Street (today Hoji ia Henda) were being evicted when the National Radio announced that "the racist South African authorities (had just) evicted the black tenants from some buildings in the suburbs of Johannesburg. . ."

#### Party Radio, Press, TV

Whoever speaks for the purpose of informing speaks through the press, radio television in the RPA. This sector is one of those most rigidly controlled by the party.

In 1974/75, a period when a certain openness prevailed as far as the press was concerned, both newspapers and radio stations proliferated, some following a party line and others not.

Beginning in late July of 1975, with the expulsion from Luanda of the FNLA and UNITA and with the Portuguese authorities completely paralyzed, the MPLA decided that information also would have to begin transmitting and defending its point of view.

Then came the (aborted) nitista [supporters of Nito Alves] coup and the MPLA shut down the Catholic station as well as the DIARIO DE LUANDA. However, the authorities had shut down the weekly ANGOLA, the last bastion of independent journalism, long before.

Information has thus been reduced to one official radio station, one official daily newspaper and one equally official television and one information agency (ANGOP--[Angolan Press Agency])--all directly controlled by the Central Committee of the MPLA, the Ministry of Information being extinct.

All information is filtered, stereotyped and officialized. For example, it is not possible for a journalist to write an editorial if it is not in agreement

with the official "diktat." Furthermore, in order to be able to practice journalism in Angola one must be an MPLA militant. . . .

As far as radio and television are concerned, their news stories obey a strict hierarchy: 1. News about the activity of the president; 2. About Party activities; 3. About the government; and 4. About activities of the "mass organizations" (unions, women's groups, MPLA youth).

Thanks to the professional capacity of its director, Rui de Carvalho, the National Radio even so has achieved a quality which is considered to be the best in black Africa. He is now responsible for television and is also marking it with another level in terms of programming.

The international page of the JORNAL DE ANGOLA (the only daily published today in Angola--in Luanda alone two morning papers and two afternoon papers were published until 1975) is based on an exclusive collaboration with the Soviet agency TASS and the Cuban agency PRENSA LATINA.

Foreign publications are also subject to a strict control. Only newspapers and magazines politically aligned with the USSR may circulate in the country.

#### Play Leading to Prison

In September 1982 a meeting to constitute the UJA [Union of Journalists of Angola] was held on the initiative of the MPLA Central Committee. During the closing ceremony, Ambrosio Lukoki, who was then still the central committee secretary for information and propaganda, would declare:

"We would like to emphasize that the appointment of the secretary general by the party leadership indicates the great interest and attention that the MPLA-PT devotes to the role of mass organizations and social and professional organizations in the construction of scientific socialism in Angola."

The leadership of the MPLA had chosen Costa Andrade, poet and ex-guerrilla (white) to be the secretary general of the UJA. Five months later he would be arrested following the presentation of "The Cord," a play by Artur Pestana ("Pepetela") in the official residence of Jose Eduardo dos Santos. Symbolically, a cord was presented pulled at one end by the people and by the MPLA Central committee at the other.

12,116  
CSO: 3442/1

ANGOLA

UNITA ANNOUNCES OFFENSIVE AGAINST LUANDA

Lisbon A TARDE in Portuguese 20 Sep 83 p 2

[Text] UNITA will be initiating an offensive against Luanda shortly. In its most recent communique, UNITA announced that its central committee "gave instructions to the FALA high command to begin another generalized 3-month offensive aimed at reaching Luanda Province. FALA Headquarters was asked to gather the materiel and place men at the appropriate place, and to report to the central committee the date operations will begin."

Moreover, the French weekly LE POINT said in its latest issue that "Jonas Savimbi's UNITA guerrilla movement presents an increasing threat to the Angolan regime." It went on to say that "the Luanda authorities are warning foreign diplomats that they cannot guarantee their safety beyond 25 kilometers from the capital."

In its latest communique, UNITA reports widespread offensives on 2 August and 9 September, encompassing activities in the provinces of Cuanza-Norte, Malange, Cuanza-Sul, Benguela, Huambo, Huila, Bie, Cuando-Cubango, Cunene, Moxico, Lunda and Uige.

As part of these military activities, UNITA has killed 1,812 FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] soldiers, 349 Cubans, and 12 Soviet advisors, and has taken 49 foreign prisoners of various nationalities. During the same offensives, UNITA reports that it destroyed 523 vehicles, 8 armored cars, 13 helicopters, 10 MIG-17 planes and 21 and 5 "Antonov" aircraft [as published], and 57 bridges, 4 of them by the fleeing enemy, that it captured 112 vehicles in good condition, 3,714 weapons and 311 soldiers, and that it made 38 attacks on convoys.

UNITA says that because of pressure by its troops, "the MPLA evacuated strategic positions at Vila Nova de Armada in Cuando-Cubango Province and Kalabo in Moxico Province, which opened access to Luena. The bridge built in April of this year was destroyed by the MPLA itself."

During this period UNITA incurred 125 losses, including a major and 5 captains, the communique reported. Some 60 soldiers have disappeared and 370,000 people who support UNITA in its drive north have been liberated.

UNITA sources in Luanda have indicated that more Cuban troops have arrived in Angola, along with Soviet war materiel which is unloaded at night in the ports of Ponta Negra, Luanda and Cuanza Sul.

According to UNITA's clandestine networks and information from captured FAPLA soldiers, the MPLA and the Cubans are preparing to launch a new offensive from the cities of Malange, Saurimo, Luena, Cuito Canavale and Huambo in an attempt to recover lost ground.

9805  
CSO: 3442/8

## SAVIMBI'S MILITARY CAPABILITIES QUESTIONED

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3450, 26 Sep 83 p 2220

[Article by Mark Doyle: "Sharks and Refugees"]

**[Text]** IF THIS region were threatened by UNITA, I would certainly not travel through it in a FAPLA jet helicopter. The fact is that Jonas Savimbi's public relations network is far more effective than his military capability, in marked contrast, on both counts, to the skills of the MPLA government.

Savimbi recently claimed to have attacked Calulo, half-an-hour's drive from here, causing, he said, considerable damage and killing hundreds of Angolan troops. A minor attack may indeed have taken place, diplomatic sources report and official sources acknowledge. But there were only a few dozen FAPLA troops in the region at the time because of the relative insignificance of the town, and, like sharks in murky waters UNITA would have left soon after terrorising the population, as is their style.

South African and UNITA attacks on Angolan territory — few here make any distinction between the two — have concentrated on localities of economic or public relations value. The tactic is to hit bridges, trading centres or the all-too-vulnerable Benguela railway, which runs through the centre of the country. Savimbi and the Boers (as Angolans and Namibians refer to the South Africans) have in this way created a sense of insecurity in some regions — certainly not the capital, as some reports suggest — and also in disrupting the economy.

It is nevertheless important to emphasise that despite eight years of fighting since independence, UNITA does not control a single major town. Part of the south-eastern, Ovimbundu-dominated corner of

the country is indeed the scene of regular UNITA attacks. Western diplomats, whose dream is of a truly non-aligned Angola, for the potential wealth of the country is enormous, even talk of "control" by UNITA in this region. But this is misleading, for the south-eastern region is barely populated and certainly of limited economic value.

More important than UNITA attacks are South African interventions. Recently, the South African defence force helped UNITA to take Cangamba, in Moxico Province. Once Savimbi had got the desired publicity, and the South African aircraft withdrew air cover, FAPLA, probably with Cuban help, retook the town. The attack is understood to have been timed to coincide with the visit to Luanda of UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar. This would be in order to force Savimbi into the "Namibia equation", presenting UNITA as a national force. This, clearly, it is not. Although tribalism and merely "wanting a change" are potential political cards for an opposition leader, Savimbi is generally seen for what he is — not a nationalist leader at all, but the stooge of South African and certain international business interests.

The human consequences of South Africa's aggression against Angola are immense. SWAPO Information Secretary, Hamutenya, explained that there are at least 70,000 Namibian refugees in Angola alone. About 45,000 to 50,000 of these are based in a camp at Kabuta, located this far north to avoid any repetition of the South African massacre of refugees at Kassinga in 1978. Many of the children at Kabuta

Camp are orphans or survivors of Kas-singa. The camp itself is a chain of tents and home-made brick buildings stretching some ten kilometres into the coffee plantations of the Northern Piano Alto Mountains.

Conditions in the camp are dramatic, worsening considerably in the rainy season from October to April. Some aid does get through to the people from socialist countries, the UN High Commission for Refugees, agencies in capitalist countries and non-governmental organisations around the world, especially Scandinavia. But there are still serious shortages. Last year, 40 children died of measles, due to the lack of an adequate vaccination programme. There is not enough corrugated iron for roofs, so many live in tents which need changing — and are not — every three months. Sanitary towels and shoes are considered luxuries.

A Moscow-trained SWAPO doctor explained that the refugees he was treating came from all over Namibia. There were Ovambos, Damaras, Hereros and Bushmen. This variety was borne out by the liberation songs, delivered impressively and in Oshivambo and Suvia languages: "Namibia will be free"; "Nujoma will lead us back to our homes, back to our families" . . .

Despite the shortages and poor conditions at the camp, there is an atmosphere of hope, a real confidence in the future. Thus the main theme of the camp, as with all SWAPO camps in Africa, is education. Officials explained that it was their aim to constantly reduce the numbers in the camp by sending students abroad, to study medicine, law, teaching or social work. Most of these students — for example, 3,000 in Cuba, 5,000 scattered around West Africa — return to the camps on completion of their studies to spread their knowledge. "Whether they are Masters or PhD," Hamutenya said, "they return to teach ABC."

Namibian refugees are not Angola's main refugee problem. Numerically and in terms of cost to the Angolan state, internal "displaced persons" are more serious. The Angolan State Secretary for Social Affairs, Robert dos Santos, said there were some 160,000 displaced Angolans. But he conceded that this could be an under-estimate. Aid sources put the number at four or five times dos Santos' figures. These people flee to the towns to escape the UNITA and

South African attacks and also to escape the drought in the central and southern provinces. Thus in Huambo there are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of children who will soon be dead because of malnutrition, one aid worker said.

The international agencies, including UNHCR, do not have a mandate to help those "internal refugees". This limitation was implicitly criticised by the Angolan Foreign Minister, Sr. Paulo Jorge, when he said Namibians were in an "apparently privileged position" vis-à-vis their Angolan brothers and sisters. Sr. Jorge's remark was made in his usual articulate and charming tone, but nevertheless firmly in the presence of a UNHCR official. Angola also has to cope with Zairois refugees, estimated at some 30,000 to 40,000. Many of the Zairois see Luanda as more attractive than Kinshasa, an interesting reflection on the relative merits of the two regimes' political options.

Indeed, despite the state of war and the drought, the Angolan capital appears to operate surprisingly well. The shanty towns are large and disgusting, but conditions there seem to compare very favourably with similar slums around Dakar or Lagos. It is also true that there is a lack of technicians — using lifts in government buildings is a hair-raising experience due to the lack of maintenance — but given the flight of Portuguese at independence and the almost constant state of war since 1961, is this situation surprising?

The multi-layered bureaucracy does not help matters, nor do certain political exigencies, such as the building of a grand and expensive mausoleum for the embalmed cadaver of Agostino Neto. The contract for the edifice has gone to the Soviets, as did the one for the original embalming in 1979. The mausoleum will cost some 53m. kwanzas, which, depending on whether you go by the official or parallel rate, amounts to some \$1.7m or \$20m.

On the equally important internal exchange market, the disparity between theory and reality has harsh consequences. Tomatoes which are supposed to sell at 40 kwanzas per kilo change hands at closer to 800 kwanzas. Prices for food are, of course, lower in the countryside, but as "speculation" (often blamed on the Zairois but practised by many) is illegal, arbitrage between town and country rates is minimal.

ANGOLA

BRIEFS

JORGE DISMISSAL STORY DENIED--Angola has denied that Sr. Paulo Jorge has been dismissed from his post as Minister of Foreign Affairs. An official statement said he had just returned from one month's holiday, that he had recently held a press conference, and would shortly be flying to New York for the UN General Assembly. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3451, 3 Oct 83 p 2325]

BRITISH CREDITS--Britain has agreed to lend \$300m. to Angola in export credits, reports Afrique-Asie, adding that this bears witness to the confidence of the Conservative government in President Eduardo dos Santos' government. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 3451, 3 Oct 83 p 2325]

CSO: 3400/104

BRIEFS

**STUDENT DEMONSTRATION DISPERSED--**A student demonstration at the University of Botswana has been broken up by police. It is reported from Gaborone that camouflaged police armed with guns and teargas yesterday dispersed a group of about 1,000 students who were protesting against the appointment of a lecturer at the university. The students, who were on the second day of their protest, were demanding that a British lecturer in sociology, Mr J. Glickman, be dismissed. They dispersed peacefully after the police told them over loudspeakers to leave the area. Unnamed academic sources at the university say the students were upset in part because a black Botswana professor was not given Glickman's job. [Text] [MB211012 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0900 GMT 21 Oct 83]

CSO: 3400/129

DELEGATION REPORTS ON TRIP TO USSR

Yaounde CAMEROON TRIBUNE in French 23 Sep 83 p 11

[Text] Responding to an invitation from the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, a delegation from our National Assembly, headed by its president, Salomon Tondeng Muna, visited the USSR from 25 to 31 August 1983. The delegation also included deputies Azaou Dogo, Jean Betambo Epoko and Mrs Marie-Therese Assiga.

During the meeting they had with the chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, V. Ruben, and the chairmen and members of the standing commissions of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Cameroonian deputies were informed of the essential guidelines of the domestic and foreign policy of the USSR and of the self-sacrificing work of the Soviet people to carry out the grandiose tasks of economic, social and cultural development of the USSR, as set by the 26th Congress of the CPSU and the 11th Five-Year Plan of the USSR.

They were also informed of the structure and activities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, its chambers, their standing commissions and the parliamentary group of the USSR.

For their part, the Cameroonian deputies presented the activities of the National Assembly of Cameroon, the profound and important political, economic and social changes that have occurred in Cameroon. They also emphasized the constant efforts made by the Cameroonian Government to raise the standard of living of the Cameroonian people, the contribution of the United Republic of Cameroon to the struggle to eliminate colonialism from Africa once and for all. They noted the important contribution which the Soviet Union has made in the fight for the liberation of the colonial yoke from the African Continent.

They also exchanged views on current international problems and on the bilateral relations that so fortunately exist between the Soviet Union and Cameroon.

Arms Race

The Soviet and Cameroonian officials emphasized that in the current situation of international tension, it is necessary to do everything possible to put an end to the arms race, continue the process of detente and consolidate peace.

The deputies from the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the National Assembly of Cameroon expressed their firm conviction that relations between nations must be organized on the basis of strict respect for the fundamental principles governing international life, such as the rejection of force or the threat of force, equality, respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of nations, the inviolability of borders and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other nations in any form.

#### Elimination of Shameful System of Apartheid

Examining the situation in Africa, the Soviet and Cameroonian officials declared their great concern over the tense situation that persists in the southern part of the continent and came out for an urgent solution to these problems and the elimination of the shameful system of apartheid. They assured the martyred people of South Africa of their active solidarity and support. They demanded a halt in the acts of aggression of the racist regime of South Africa against neighboring African countries, the immediate liberation of the territory of Angola from the South African forces of aggression. They stressed their agreement in affirming that South Africa's aspiration to have nuclear weapons represents a serious threat to Africa and the rest of the world.

The officials of the two countries expressed their complete support for the just struggle of SWAPO. They condemned maneuvers aimed at preventing the speedy and complete enforcement of Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council on the granting of independence to Namibia. They categorically rejected attempts to link that problem to the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

The deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and of the National Assembly of Cameroon gave a positive evaluation of the role of the OAU and especially, its contribution to the fight of the peoples of Africa against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid.

On the bilateral level, the discussions highlighted the friendly nature of relations between the Soviet Union and Cameroon, as well as the need to develop cooperation on the basis of mutually beneficial advantages in the political, economic, commercial and cultural domains, for the well-being of the peoples of both countries.

The delegation of deputies from Cameroon laid a wreath on Lenin's Tomb and on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, near the Kremlin wall.

In addition to Moscow, the Cameroonian delegation visited the autonomous Soviet socialist republics of Tartar and Kazakstan, where they observed the life of workers, visited industrial enterprises and farms and saw a number of historical and cultural monuments.

The officials of both countries expressed their support for increased development of relations between the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the National Assembly of the United Republic of Cameroon, in order to contribute to better mutual understanding and greater friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

FOOD QUALITY CONTROL SAID TO BE HEALTH PROBLEM

Yaounde CAMEROON TRIBUNE in French 23 Sep 83 p 11

[Article by Daniel Sibetcheu, Department of Nutrition, Ministry of Public Health]

[Text] Food self-sufficiency is not an empty phrase in our country. And yet, in the fight being waged by the government to improve the nutrition and therefore, the state of health of our people, several factors stand in the way of full enjoyment of our abundant agricultural production. They are, among other things: inadequate distribution of food to the entire national territory; poor use of available food because of various taboos, beliefs and bans and sometimes, insufficient knowledge of nutrition; and a lack of adequate methods of preserving foodstuffs, which still results in major losses of the fruits of our harvests.

Actually, the climatic and ecological diversity of our country favors the development of highly varied agricultural production, although with zones specifically suited to certain plants and animals.

Often, production zones are far from major consumer centers. It then becomes necessary to ship food products from such production zones to the major consumer centers comprised of urban areas.

The difficulties linked to such shipping increase food prices of the production areas to double or even triple the amount in consumer centers, which is an obstacle to adequate consumption by low-income families.

At times, certain commodities that are abundant in production zones are rare in other regions of the country. And yet, the creation of shipping facilities alone is not enough because the long distances sometimes separating production areas from consumer centers can wipe out the benefits of the effort, especially when highly perishable foods are involved. It then becomes necessary to have adequate methods of preserving food in order to limit losses and the sometimes great price variations from one region to another and from one season to another. Food shipped under improper conditions sometimes arrived at consumer centers already starting to spoil.

### Canned Goods

Given this lack of adequate methods of long-term preservation, canned food-stuffs have become very popular on our markets in recent years, encouraged by new living habits (working husbands). And yet, one has to observe that these canned goods are not always without danger to the consumer.

Likewise, these new ways of life promote the development of community eateries, especially in urban areas. The consumer is thus exposed, when rules of hygiene are not properly observed, to infections transmitted due to unclean habits during the preparation, preservation and distribution of food. Many of our fellow countrymen of different social classes are not aware of the risks connected with large restaurants when the rules of hygiene regarding the handling and preparation of food leave something to be desired. Actually, such places can be the source of disease when improper conditions exist: food not covered during sale; food handlers with infections, especially of the hands and arms; unclean drinking water and food preparation; the absence or lack of cleanliness of toilets; the presence of animals on premises where food is prepared (dogs, cats and rodents); improper hygiene during preparation.

It will be noted that many Cameroonian are not concerned about the cleanliness of the premises, the state of health of food handlers or even the quality of the food served because one often sees in lower-class restaurants the leftovers from the previous evening eaten without the most basic precautions.

Likewise, canned food no longer fit for consumption is still sold on our markets, which is a great danger to Cameroonian consumers. Cases of mass food poisoning, even death, after the consumption of a meal are not rare in our country, as the newspapers often point out. It is therefore necessary to be concerned, not only with satisfying our hunger, but with paying particular attention to the quality of food we eat, for such food can be the source of various infections that can harm our health.

### Control a Necessity

Given these real risks which the consumer faces, the role of food quality control becomes indispensable.

In our country, despite their limited numbers and means, technicians responsible for food quality control are not only concerned with the food itself, but also with the condition of areas where food is prepared and eaten and with the cleanliness and health of handlers. A medical certificate valid for 6 months will testify to their fitness -- that is, the absence of infections that may be transmitted to consumers.

However, it is not rare to find food handlers who are not only filthy, but who have open infections that could spread disease to consumers and who still have health certificates. Unfortunately, many medical certificates are issued carelessly, without regard for the effort to protect the health of consumers.

Actually, all persons who have infections of the hands, face or scalp, runny noses and running ear infections, diarrhea, vomiting or nausea should be eliminated from food handling. The same is true of persons with tuberculosis, who should not be allowed to handle food until they are certified as completely cured.

As we can see, the risk of spreading disease by food is our country is a real problem. That is why control of food and water quality must be of prime importance in pursuing the objective of "good health for all by the year 2000." Such control requires the following in order to be truly effective: a well-equipped laboratory for analyses of food samples; basic legislation and flexible and well-adapted application regulations; food standards for proper application of legislation; and competent personnel for sampling, on-the-spot inspections and laboratory analyses.

At the present time, these four elements are not adequately present.

However, technicians now in the field all have a major role to play in improving the quality of food made available to consumers.

In the absence of biological examinations, issuance of a medical certificate to a food handler should follow a very strict clinical examination. A complete physical for hiring should weed out persons with tuberculosis.

Technicians responsible for on-the-spot inspections should be extremely strict in their work, particularly in destroying any food not fit for consumption, no matter what the quantity or source, and in penalizing improper maintenance of areas where food is prepared and distributed.

Food vendors themselves must exercise self-discipline, removing from the market any food no longer fit for consumption and refraining from handling food when they carry infections that could be transmitted to consumers.

Consumers must also pay particular attention to what they eat and to the cleanliness of food handlers and eating areas.

#### **Transmission of Diseases**

If such an effort is made by every individual in his own area, it will help halt the transmission of most diseases still spread by food in our country. We shall then be able to limit the damage caused by inadequate measures of food hygiene from which many families suffer.

We can never stress strongly enough that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure."

11,464  
CSO: 3419/8

COUNTRY ON WAY TO 'RENEWAL' DISCUSSED

Paris LE MONDE in French 21 Sep 83 p 7

[Text] Garoua (Nord-Cameroun)--At least one thing was certain: the presidency of Mr Paul Biya, who by acceding to the position of national president of the Cameroonian National Union (LE MONDE of 15 September) would now have the power to carry out his policies, would not be like that of his predecessor, Mr Ahmadou Ahidjo. Did a liberal replace an autocrat? The opposition's statements are doubtless excessive, or at least premature, even though Cameroonian political life already seems to be characterized by the "change and renewal" which Biya plans to bring about. Can none imagine Mr Ahidjo affecting a "relaxed style?"...The risk, to be sure, is of getting carried away by the undertow, by what might pass--in Cameroonian terms--for a kind of "cultural revolution," with the probably inevitable excesses which would be inherent here in any sudden liberalization of the right to freedom of speech. People are indeed speaking out, or rather letting off steam. Before 6 November 1982, the date the presidential system was established, it would have been difficult to imagine so much public debate about the head of state.

Except for the case of a few isolated individuals, the politicians today scarcely acknowledge that the man who served faithfully in that office for 22 years has any accomplishments to his credit; this is largely because they are so preoccupied with their unanimism (both sincere and opportunistic) with regard to the new president. By a sort of collective amnesia, the historical dimension of independent Cameroon's first head of state is forgotten, almost denied. Nevertheless, although his tactics may have been controversial, Mr Ahidjo was the man who built national unity in a country which has close to 200 different ethnic groups.

Moreover, if Cameroon is still a model of prudence in its management of the economy, how can Cameroonian fail to acknowledge that this was Mr Ahidjo's doing? His record is not unimpressive, even if it may be true, as people are fond of pointing out these days, that without that "national genius" which is the work of all Cameroonian Mr Ahidjo was nothing.

If they were tempted to erase the past, the new leaders doubtless ran the risk of disappointing an entire people who were encouraged to believe that Cameroon's real history began on...Wednesday 14 September 1983 (the date of the UNC [Cameroonian National Union] congress). That was the big test for Mr Paul

Biya. This sudden letting off of steam we are seeing is inseparable from the immense sense of hope which Mr Ahidjo's accession to the prime ministership had inspired, a sense of hope which he also knew how to sustain.

#### North-South Rivalry

First of all, people were wondering what Mr Biya would do about the north-south rivalry. As a "southerner," would he not show favoritism to his own, as his predecessor, a "northerner," had done? Overall, it is difficult at this point to state positively that the peoples of the central and southern part of the country have benefited from any "swing of the pendulum," either in terms of lucrative positions or powerful offices, as a result of the four ministerial shake-ups that have taken place since November 1982.

Naturally, one may be somewhat amused by the vehement protests heard in Yao-unde regarding a sort of conspiracy of the French press, which was doing all it could to depict the Cameroonian crisis in terms of a simple north-south confrontation. If this issue did not exist at all, it would not be the focal point of all conversation and the government would not have made a computer printout listing all public servants including, in addition to their cursus [translation unknown], their ethnic extraction.

The ethnic problem has been is now and will remain fundamental to understanding what is happening in Cameroon--which does not mean that today it is the most important factor in analyzing the astonishing change which may be taking place in the society at large. Cameroon may be changing from the inside, by replacing its elites, by changing its standards and by demanding a new morality in public life.

The emergence of a group of younger ministers surrounding the new president, the appearance on the political scene of a brilliant generation of technocrats strongly imbued with French culture and European democratic values, is potentially a source of change.

The moralization of public life is also on the agenda. The system of fictitious warehouses\* which has greatly enriched the aladji (businessmen from the north, Muslims such as Mr Ahidjo)--the Bamilekes in the south have for their part realized substantial profits by trafficking in alcohol--is to be gradually suppressed, if one can believe government statements. There are two strategies being advanced in this regard: the first, which a number of industrialists are advocating, is a major crackdown, making examples of some offenders; the second is to make the aladji pay their debts. Reliable sources estimate that almost all of Cameroon's 10 banks are implicated in these fraudulent operations to one degree or another. The risk posed by a high-visibility campaign against corruption is that it would focus attention on the gangrene which afflicts the banking system, thus discouraging foreign investors.

In that connection, it should be pointed out that the presence in the government of Mr Sadou Hayatou, Minister of Agriculture and former general manager of the Cameroonian affiliate of the BNP [National Bank of Paris]--a man who

is also the son of the former lamido (sultan) of Garoua and the uncle of the present lamido--is well calculated to ease tension between northerners and southerners. A former banker (as is the minister of finance), he also has the invaluable advantage of knowing precisely what individuals are involved in the system of fictitious warehouses. It is easy to imagine, therefore, that these two factors work together...

#### Moralizing

The task of moralization seems all the more immense because the bureaucracy has habitually closed its eyes to the problem at every level. There is another matter on which the government will have to prove its political will: oil revenues, which up to now have escaped any accounting, even budgetary, because the head of state has determined this was a "privileged domain." ...The government's justification for its lack of enthusiasm for total transparency is perhaps acceptable though not terribly convincing: noting what ravages the "oil miracle" has wrought in Nigeria and Gabon, the Cameroonian authorities fear that too much publicity about the total amount of oil revenue would encourage the people to quit making efforts and abandon their industrious ways.

Replacement of the elites, moralization of public life, changes in standards--particularly political standards--and liberalization: on the latter point, President Biya and his government intend to move cautiously, because in their estimation the danger of things getting out of control is substantial. Liberalization is supposed to take place both by means of legalization of new newspapers and by changing the internal procedures of the party (LE MONDE of 15 September). In that area, standards might change gradually. In any case, it would be folly to think that there is not a process of "de-Ahidjization" going on in the UNC. Gradually, all the party general secretaries will be replaced and positions of responsibility given to trusted individuals.

The president of the Republic of Cameroon intends to set his country on the path of "renewal." He apparently holds the necessary levers of power. Will Mr Ahidjo join in that effort, knowing, in the words of Mr Kuoh Tobie, the mayor of Douala, that "Biya's success will also be Ahidjo's success, and Biya's failure will be Ahidjo's?"

#### FOOTNOTES

\* The system of fictitious warehouses is rather simple: an aladji with connections in the government would obtain a sizeable loan from a bank, the order having previously gone to the banker to satisfy that request. The aladji would not pay back either the loans or the interest! With the money obtained, he would buy merchandise to sell for export. The items for export had to transit various warehouses where customs duties were imposed. Now even before the purchase, the aladji would obtain (real) certificates showing the taxes had been paid, even though he had never paid them. By re-selling the merchandise, the aladji made a double profit: the sale price less the customs duties, as well as the total amount of the unrepaid loan. It is estimated

the state has lost close to Fr CFA 90 billion in uncollected customs revenue through this scheme. We have been assured that a "stop order" has been given to the aladji's profitable commerce, but the state does not expect to recover more than Fr CFA 50 billion, as most of the swindlers used false names or could not be brought to justice.

9516  
CSO: 3419/10

PIRES DESCRIBES DRIVE TO DISSEMINATE CONGRESS RESULTS

Praia VOZ DI POVO in Portuguese 23 Sep 83 p 5

[Interview with Maj Olivio Pires: "Study and Dissemination Campaign for Results of Second Congress"]

[Text] During its meeting on 9 September the Policial Commission of the PAICV [African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde] approved a document containing guidelines on the study and dissemination of the results of the Second Party Congress. According to the guidelines adopted, there will be a nationwide study and dissemination drive between 12 September and 31 July 1984 on the decisions of the congress, covering the party structures, the social organizations, and the government agencies. Given the importance of this matter, VOZ DI POVO interviewed First Maj Olivio Pires, member, Political Commission and Secretariat, CN [National Council], PAICV.

VOZ DI POVO: In broad outline, what is the objective in terms of political-ideological indoctrination and how will the drive be set up in human terms (in other words, concerning the population or social groups)?

Olivio Pires: The drive now being launched is the first of that scope carried out by the party. This of course is due to the historical importance of the Second PAICV Congress.

Due to the nature and quality of the guidelines that were drafted, the Second Congress has defined the party better, reaffirming and clarifying its political and ideological options and pointing out the way to the construction of the new society. The way this was done turned this into the congress of democracy which certainly will fashion the party and the nation in a decisive form.

As the comrade secretary-general affirmed, by the way, this is an event which will influence the destiny of each citizen and the nation's future; it is a reference point in the present stage of our struggle.

The Second Congress of our party adopted important resolutions and documents as well as specific guidelines for the actions of the party, the government, and the mass organizations over the next several years, aimed at the continuation

of the construction of social progress in Cape Verde. Now, to be correctly implemented, these guidelines must be known, understood, accepted, assimilated, adopted, and defended especially by party militants, by the cadres and workers of the government and the enterprises, by the members of the mass organizations and other social organizations, by the members of the Armed and Security Forces and, finally, by the popular masses in general.

Thus, the campaign's central objective is the dissemination of the resolutions of the Second Congress, within the party and the state, and the working masses, with a view to their implementation. This gradual materialization of the guidelines charted by the Congress boils down to strengthening the political, economic, social, and cultural as well as defense and security institutions and organizations as well as the improvement of the quality of their service; the elevation of the patriotic consciousness of the citizens; the further in-depth development of the country's national revolutionary democracy; the broadening of the bases of independence; finally, an improvement of the people's living conditions. Summarizing the drive's objectives, the slogan is: "Let us study and implement resolutions of the Second Congress!"

Naturally, the disclosure of these decisions will involve a differentiated approach in terms of the topics to be taken up, consonant with the sector which we want to reach; this means that, for example, looking at the party bylaws, the political cadres will go much more deeply into the study of that document than the members of a social organization. Or another topic will be taken up in a different manner depending on whether we are dealing with militants in an urban area or in a rural area.

We think that the resolutions of the Second Congress are a valuable instrument which is indispensable to the development not only of the party but also of Cape Verde society and that its implementation is a collective task of national interest; this is why it is important for everybody to assume his responsibility and individually to work toward the campaign's success, regardless of whether he may be a minister, a general manager or an enterprise manager, a supervisor or a worker, a party militant or a member of a mass organization.

VOZ DI POVO: "In the footsteps of Amilcar Cabral" was the slogan of the Second Congress and the campaign is being launched on Nationality Day as well as the ceremonies commemorating the events of 1959, the anniversary of the birth of Amilcar Cabral. These two factors seem to point to the particular importance of combining the study of the resolutions and the thinking of Cabral.

Olivio Pi'es: Amilcar Cabral is always present in our life, in the party's activities and in its ideology. He occupies an unequalled place in the history of the people of Cape Verde not only because of the role he played in the national liberation struggle but also because of his theoretical legacy which continues to inspire the party's collective thinking and to guide our daily actions.

But we think that, in addition to all that--which is a task for generations to come--it is necessary to carry out specific but immediate activities in order to keep the thinking and even the figure of Cabral alive and current. Thus our party, with great international emphasis, at the beginning of this year,

organized the Amilcar Cabral Symposium for the purpose of marking the 10th anniversary of his death, assembling some of the best specialists on the works of Cabral; thus, the Amilcar Cabral Institute, the central school of the PAICV, will soon begin to train new political cadres for the country; in this way we are also studying the coming establishment of the Amilcar Cabral Foundation for the purpose of disseminating and further studying his work and fomenting theoretical research in fields to which Cabral devoted most attention; in this way, the party will next year mark the 60th anniversary of Cabral's birth with various events including a monument to the founder of our nation.

It is therefore quite natural that the Party Congress and the dissemination of its resolutions should be combined with the thinking of Amilcar Cabral who continues to be the chief ideological guide in the struggle which we are fighting today against underdevelopment, for the construction of a modern, peaceful, and prosperous society, without any exploitation of man by man.

VOZ DI POVO: Does the nationwide study and dissemination of these resolutions follow a thematic distribution plan in terms of time?

Olivio Pires: The campaign consists of a series of political and ideological actions, planned for the last quarter of this year and the first half of 1984; but it does not cover all of the indoctrination and information initiatives around the results of the Second Congress. Later, in line with past experience, the party will adopt other forms of ideological dissemination.

The campaign thus will last about 9 months and is divided into seven phases. The first one will start on the 12th (this, unfortunately, is not by chance; we tried to combine the commemoration of national dates with the campaign): it will go on until the end of September and is designed to communicate the general guidelines, the presentation of objectives, the development of specific work plans for the party structures on the various levels, for the mass organizations, and for government agencies.

Each of the following phases will cover a particular topic which will be the object of study and dissemination during that period of time. For example, between 1 October and 30 November, our full attention will be focused on the study and dissemination of the ideological foundations and the organizational principles of the party; this will fundamentally be expressed in the dissemination of the program and the bylaws of the PAICV adopted by the Congress.

VOZ DI POVO: Who will the active individuals be during that drive and who is supposed to be reached especially?

Olivio Pires: As in any ideological party activity, the important thing is to reach the militants and the popular masses. The important thing is to bring the conclusions of the congress, our decisions which were adopted democratically by the party's highest instance, to the mind and heart of each militant, each worker in Cape Verde. The important thing is on the basis of the congress resolutions, to take new steps forward in our people's political-ideological indoctrination.

The party militants will simultaneously be the recipients and the disseminators of the ideas we want to disclose; this is why work will be emphasized among them. But the campaign is not beamed only at party members and also covers broad groups of workers organized in government agencies and in the mass and social organizations.

Who are the active participants? Obviously, the party--all of its structures, from the National Council to the base groups; the militants, especially the political cadres, the mass organizations (JAAC-CV [Amilcar Cabral African Youth-Cape Verde], the OMVC [Organization of Cape Verdian Women], the labor unions); the Armed and Security Forces; the government information media which must play a particularly important role in presenting these decisions throughout the land; the government services and agencies as well as the public enterprises. Through its leadership machinery, the party must guide and supervise the campaign on a national level, guiding and clarifying its structures and other agents involved, pointing out leaders and persons in charge in order concretely to support local initiatives, publishing the necessary documents.

VOZ DI PODO: Launching the drive on a national level must of course presuppose an organized system of control and support on various levels. Can you give us an idea of the work being done in this field?

Olivio Pires: As a matter of fact, so far we do not have any experience in this field of ideolgocial work; a dissemination campaign which has been planned and programmed for several months throughout the country in this specific case calls for more observation rather than control, both on the central level and on the sector and base levels. The party will direct the campaign through adequate mechanisms provided in the guidance document approved by the Political Commission; this is very important to party development and to progress in our struggle of social emancipation. But its success depends essentially on the interest, on the commitment with which each militant--independently of his party or government responsibilities--will tackle the implementation of this dissemination action.

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BRIEFS

ACCORD WITH HUNGARY--Socialist Ethiopia and the Hungarian People's Republic this morning signed a 3-year cultural, educational and scientific cooperation accord. The accord, which will be effective from 1983 to 1985 was signed for socialist Ethiopia by Comrade Cirma Yilma, culture, sports and youth affairs minister and COPWE Central Committee member, and Comrade Elek Toth, Hungarian ambassador to socialist Ethiopia on behalf of his country. The accord, in addition to strengthening bilateral relations in the fields of science, culture and education, will also promote existing relations in the fields of sports, information organizations and other sectors. [Text] [EA250012 Addis Ababa Domestic Service in Amharic 1700 GMT 24 Oct 83]

CSO: 3403/4

**MAU MAU IDEALS SAID TO REMAIN ALIVE IN NATION TODAY**

London JOURNAL OF AFRICAN MARXISTS in English No 4, Sep 83, pp 18-44

**[Article by Ngugi wa Thiong'o: "Mau Mau Is Coming Back—The Revolutionary Significance of 20th October 1952 in Kenya Today"]**

**[Text]**

**Introduction**

This paper was written for and read at the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the start of the guerrilla struggle in Kenya by Mau Mau (Kenya Land and Freedom Army) on 20 October 1952. Led by such freedom fighters as Dedan Kimathi (executed in 1957 by the British colonial administration), the Mau Mau struggle eventually compelled Britain to seek a negotiated solution to the colonial problem. The political leadership of the Kenya African Union (KAU) who had been arrested in 1952 when a State of Emergency was declared, were released and under the Kenya African National Union (KANU) of Jomo Kenyatta they negotiated for 'independence' in 1963. The post-colonial regime incorporated collaborators who had opposed Mau Mau, who have since tried to expunge the memories of the people's struggle. Thirty years after the beginning of Mau Mau, committed intellectuals like Maina-wa-Kinyatti who have extolled the people's struggle have been imprisoned for their stand against neo-colonialism and subservience to foreign culture. The struggle between bourgeois scholars and revolutionary intellectuals and the growing repression in Kenya indicate that the ideals of Mau Mau and the struggle against neo-colonialism of Britain and the United States are alive.

### **What's In a Name?**

We are here tonight for the 30th anniversary of the start of the Mau Mau war for national independence which falls on 20 October. It was on such a night in 1952 that the Kenya African Union (KAU) and Mau Mau leadership were arrested. A State of Emergency was declared over Kenya by Governor Baring on behalf of the British government. Kimathi led the Mau Mau Land and Freedom Army into the forests and mountains and waged an extraordinary guerrilla struggle that was eventually to compel British imperialism to seek a political solution out of the colonial impasse. Even after Kimathi's capture and subsequent execution in 1957, the Mau Mau forces never formally surrendered. It was not in fact until after independence that the Mau Mau guerrillas finally left the mountains. But what is the significance of 20 October 1952 in Kenya today?

Why have there never been shrines erected in honour of the Mau Mau guerrilla fighters? Why has there never been a statue erected in honour of Kimathi and all those who died in the struggle for our national independence? The answers lie in the sort of independence finally settled for by Kenyatta and the Africa African Union (KANU) leadership. Mau Mau had forced the issue but their leadership was excluded from the final settlement and were done out of any power in the state. Those elements who gained out of the settlement now claim that Kenyatta (alone!) brought independence to Kenya. Kenyatta or Kimathi? KANU or Mau Mau?

The ruling regime in Kenya have already given their own answer. They have always commemorated the date as 'Kenyatta Day'. But the Kenyan peasants and workers know it as the Kimathi or Mau Mau Freedom Fighters Day. We too are celebrating 20 October 1952 as Mau Mau Freedom Fighters Day. By doing so, we are expressing solidarity with

Kenyan people, for it is *their Day*! The day, the month, the year Kimathi with the Kenya Land and Freedom Army started the ten year armed struggle against imperialist colonial occupation of Kenya, to enable Kenyans to determine their economic, political and cultural life. For no people are free as long as their economy, politics and culture are controlled by imperialism!

It is therefore bitterly ironic to millions of Kenyans that as we talk here tonight, there are, in Kenya, three foreign military presences – the British, Israeli and American. The USA has military bases in Mombasa, Nanyuki and other places in Eastern Kenya. American and British pilots fly Kenya's aeroplanes. Thousands of Kenyans are in detention camps, prisons or exile. Many others have been and continue to be killed. The University of Nairobi for instance, is closed and many of our bright lecturers and students are dead or in jail or awaiting trial.

Kenyatta Day or Mau Mau Freedom Fighters Day! What's in a name? Everything, especially if it has to do with the *past*, that is with *history*. How we look at our yesterday has important bearings on how we look at to-day and how we see possibilities for tomorrow. The sort of past we look back to for inspiration in our struggles affects the vision of the future we want to build. What heroes or heroines do we identify with? Waiyaki or Kinyanjui? Koitalel or Mumia? Me Katilili or Wangu Makeri? Kimathi or Kenyatta? People's leaders or colonial chiefs? Patriots or loyalists? Mau Mau fighters or Homeguards? Resistance heroes or collaborators with the imperialist enemy? Imperialist foreigners and their oppressor friends or national patriots and their comrades in struggle?

We know that when one nation conquers another nation, it tries to disfigure the history of the conquered nation. Thus when imperialist nations conquered and colonized Africa, they rewrote the history of the continent in terms of a continent of darkness preceding the European slave or colonial presence. Those who fought against the colonizing nation were depicted as villains or witches. Those who collaborated were seen in terms of outstanding courage and intelligence. In the same way and within a single nation, the dominant economic class disfigures the history of the dominated classes. Those among the dominated and exploited who took arms against those dominating and exploiting are written off as villains while those who put down people's uprisings are shown in heroic colours. Moreover, the history of that nation is often written in terms of the heroic deeds of kings, chiefs, exceptional individuals and classes, that is, in terms of those elements in that nation's past which give historical rational expression or confer legitimacy to the claims of the dominant class. The dominant class looks at history from the heights and needs of its present position.

The dominant nation or class recruits either from amongst its own or other ranks, an army of historians, philosophers, writers, journalists, in a word, intellectuals, who draw pictures of the universe corresponding to its material objective position. These become its seers, visionaries or songsters, its intellectual force. They assume the standpoint of the exploiter and oppressor. But the dominated nation or class also throws out its intellectual force either from amongst its own or other ranks which explain the world from the material basis and objective needs of the struggle of that class or nation. Such intellectuals assume the standpoint of the exploited and the oppressed.

These two intellectual forces will look at the *past* very differently, often in conflicting terms. What they have in common is an awareness of the importance of the *past* and its interpretation and they go about it with fierce commitment even when hiding under slogans of objectivity and search for

truth. But it is a truth, an objectivity, from the standpoint of one or the other class. It is as if they both realize that the distance between the barrel of a gun and the point of a pen is very small: What's fought out at penpoint is often resolved at gunpoint with the possible overthrow of the one class by the other, or the overturning of the existing and apparently fixed status quo, or relations between the two contending classes or nations.

The interpretation of Kenya's past, of Mau Mau, even of the significance of 20 October 1952, is no different. Kenyatta Day or Mau Mau Freedom Fighters Day? It depends on who is looking at that crucial event and from whose viewpoint or angle of vision. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the fierce debate that erupted amongst the University academic community, preceding the current repression and resistance.

### Recovering the Peoples' History

In 1977 for instance the editors and publishers of *The Kenya Historical Review* released a special issue on the Mau Mau Movement. The cover is a picture of British forces and their African collaborators hunting down Mau Mau Freedom Fighters in the forests of Nyandarua and Mount Kenya. Inset in the bottom right corner of the cover is a tiny frame of a pathetic face of a dead Mau Mau guerrilla made even more so by the pale sickly yellowish background against the luxurious green of the British forces. The editors and the publishers were Kenyan. But the issue in the choice of contributions and cover illustration, and in the arrangement of the content, was clearly a scholarly attempt at the ideological burial of Mau Mau as a credible anti-imperialist nationalist movement. The triumphant tone of the introduction by Professor Ogot sounds more like an obituary of a dreaded enemy:

We are to a large extent merely indulging in the politics of nostalgia. The Mau Mau ideology, as I have argued, was already rejected by the nationalist forces. How can we then regard Mau Mau as the pivot of Kenyan nationalism? This is a painful conclusion.

Kenyan reactionary scholarship was about to give the final coup de grace to what Kenyatta had started when in 1954 at his trial in Kapenguria, he described Mau Mau as an 'evil thing' which 'I have done my best to denounce... and if all other people had done as I have done Mau Mau would not be as it is now'. Such scholars wearing the cloaks of apparent objectivity, were burying Mau Mau in a heap of footnotes. They might well have succeeded.

But squeezed somewhere in the middle of the special issue was a well argued contribution by a brilliant and committed scholar, Maina-wa-Kinyatti, in which he took issue with the entire anti-Mau Mau intellectual establishment and described Mau Mau as 'the peak of African nationalism in Kenya.' He made a passionate call to Kenyan intellectuals to repudiate, in the words of Franz Fanon, 'its own nature in so far as it is bourgeois, that is to say in so far as it is the tool of capitalism, and make itself the willing slave of that revolutionary capital which is the people.' He wrote:

...interest groups and individuals, including... some University historians have started revising important aspects of Kenya's political history, especially of Mau Mau development. If crucial documentable occurrences of the Mau Mau Movement are ignored, purposely or otherwise, if dubious new information is smuggled into the discussion, then certainly unjustifiable analysis, deductions and

conclusion will result. I insist that if our reputation is to remain worth anything or if we wish to play a positive and enlightening role in the future development of Kenya's society we must discard the speculative and encourage the objective. Clearly, a national movement whose goals and aims were so appropriate to the common desires of so many, a movement which so profoundly influenced Kenya's political evolution and inspired so many fraternal peoples, in short, a movement which was a part of the world-wide anti-colonial onslaught cannot be dismissed merely with a flick of a pen.

Quite clearly for Maina-wa-Kinyatti, Mau Mau symbolised that revolutionary capital, the people, Kenyan people, 'third' world peoples, all peoples the world over struggling against colonialist and neo-colonialist domination.

In 1980, Maina-wa-Kinyatti followed up that call for committed patriotic scholarship by editing and publishing Mau Mau songs under the title: *Thunder from the Mountains – Mau Mau Patriotic songs*. Kinyatti spent many days and nights in the homes of former Mau Mau guerrillas, peasants and workers, recording their voices as they sang, and he clearly wanted Kenyans to share with him the elation he himself had felt when listening to the guerrilla lyrics:

One can sense the very flames of war in them. They glorify the revolutionary aspects of the Movement: its dialectical relationship with the worker and peasant masses on the one hand, and its principled contradiction with British colonialism on the other. They again praise the heroism of the guerrillas and their leaders. They tell stories of outstanding battles fought by the Mau Mau forces; they speak of the patriotism of the women and youth and the great sacrifices they had to make in support of, and for participating in, the fighting. At the same time the lyrics articulate the guerrillas deep hatred for British colonialism. They often point out that both these foreign occupiers and the local traitors should be regarded as Kenya's enemy number one who should be wiped out mercilessly. There runs through the songs a consistent spirit of optimism that the people of Kenya and their Mau Mau army will, in the end, win the war. The content of these lyrics is patriotic, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist.

But his main objective is clearly to fight against the reactionary interpretation of Mau Mau in historical scholarship. In his preface he writes:

In summary, the main objective in translating these songs is to let them answer the anti-Mau Mau Kenyan intellectuals and their imperialist masters who, until now, continue to deny the Movement's national character.

The need to answer these scholars comes from a realization that scholarship has never, and will never be neutral. Intellectuals are not disembodied voices. They stand for these or those social forces. They articulate the world outlook of this or that class. Put concretely, the question is this: if you deny Mau Mau its national character, if you, by an intellectual magic wand, were to wave it away from the central stage of Kenya's history of struggle, to whom have you left the stage? For Professor Ogot and his ilk, it is to the 'nationalist forces' – rid of the deviationist Mau Mau armed struggle, of course – with which he so completely identifies: 'the Mau Mau ideology was rejected by the nationalist forces. How can we then regard Mau Mau as the pivot of Kenya's nationalism?'

Who are Professor Ogot's *we*? Intellectuals, of course. On whose side are they? In other words, whose viewpoint, outlook, position, inter-

ests, does their interpretation of the past serve, strengthen, give historical legitimacy or expression? Clearly and unequivocally, that of the 'nationalist forces' whose unexamined unquestioned – by Ogot's intellectuals – rejection of the Mau Mau ideology in the sixties, forms the basis of these academics' logical conclusions that Mau Mau was not the pivot of Kenya nationalism. What was the Mau Mau ideology rejected by Ogot's nationalist forces? Land and Freedom. How were they to be obtained? By armed struggle. Maina-wa-Kinyatti quotes a verse from one of the Mau Mau songs:

We shall never, never give up  
Without land on which to grow food  
And without our own true freedom  
In our country of Kenya!

**Land. Freedom. A liberated Kenya. National independence. It is all there – and the uncompromising commitment – in a single verse. But in a document Kimathi published in 1953, containing seventy-nine articles, the Mau Mau is further articulated:**

We want an African self-government in Kenya now . . .  
We reject the foreign laws in Kenya for they were not made for Kenya and are not righteous.  
We reject to be called terrorists when demanding our people's rights.  
Our real fight is not against the white colour bar but is against the system carried on by the white rulers.  
Fighting for our stolen land and our independence is not a crime but a revolutionary duty.  
Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. Only when we achieve our independence can our people have genuine peace.  
We reject a foreign Attorney General in Kenya for he deals with appearances more than righteousness.  
We reject to be called Mau Mau. We are Kenya Land Freedom Army (KLFA).  
We reject colonisation in Kenya for being in that state we are turned into slaves and beggars.  
Our people will chase the foreign exploiters, wipe out the traitors and establish an independent government of the Kenyan people . . .

The document, otherwise known as the Mau Mau Charter, was copied to the governments of India, Egypt, the Soviet Union, France, Great Britain, to the United Nations, and to pan-Africanists like George Padmore, and Kwame Nkrumah, and anti-colonialists like Fenner Brockway.

Who are Professor Ogot's nationalist forces? They fall into two categories. First were the complete sell-outs, the actual *Mbwa Kalis* or watchdogs of colonialism: that is those elements who rejected the Mau Mau ideology in total and who actively fought on the side of the British colonial forces. They were the renegades otherwise known as loyalists and homeguards, active collaborators, so well described by Maina-wa-Kinyatti in his introduction to *Thunder from the Mountains*:

Finally and most important, the songs speak out bitterly against those Kenyans, particularly the Home Guards, who betrayed the Movement to the British imperialists. In almost every song, it is made clear that the principal enemy of the Kenyan people was the British colonialists; and all those Kenyans who sided with them and helped them to oppress and kill the people were declared traitors. And war was declared on them, just as it was against the foreign occupiers. Listen to the following verses:

You who sell us out are our great enemies  
Look around you and look at the British  
And also look at yourselves.  
The British are foreigners,  
And they will surely go back to their country  
Where will you, traitors to your country,  
Run to?

And you traitors  
Who have joined forces with the enemy  
You will never be anything  
But the whiteman's slaves  
And when we win the war  
You will suffer for your betrayal.

Further, the songs make it very plain to the Kenyan mercenaries who were serving the British armed forces that, in helping the British to kill their compatriots, they were committing an act of treason against their nation and would be treated accordingly:

We must continuously increase  
Our militant vigilance  
And intensify our battle  
Against these mercenaries and traitors  
Wiping them out one by one mercilessly.

In the same vein the colonial puppet chiefs were attacked:

Don't you think you are a patriot,  
When you join the enemy forces,  
Remember that to betray your people  
Is an act of treason.

In organizational terms these types were later represented by Ronald Ngala and Daniel arap Moi who led Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) which was a black front for continued settler colonial interests. They can all be called loyalists. They concealed their sell-out under nationalist slogans.

Secondly, there were those who only partially accepted some aspects of the Mau Mau ideology, those constitutionalists afraid of revolutionary change, once described by Franz Fanon as violent in their words and reformist in their attitudes, those who, when they see the masses up in arms, rush to the colonialists to exclaim 'This is very serious... we don't know how it will end; we must find a solution, some sort of compromise,' those who use the anger of the masses as the bargaining argument for concessions and private deals with colonialism:

This idea of compromise is very important in the phenomenon of decolonization, for it is very far from being a simple one. Compromise involves the colonial system and the young nationalist bourgeoisie at one and the same time. The partisans of the colonial system discover that the masses may destroy everything. Blown-up bridges, ravaged farms, repressions and fighting harshly disrupt the economy. Compromise is equally attractive to the nationalist bourgeoisie, who since they are not clearly aware of the possible consequences of the rising storm, are genuinely afraid of being swept away by this huge hurricane and never stop saying to the settlers: 'We are still capable of stopping the slaughter; the masses still have confidence in us; act quickly if you do not want to put everything in jeopardy.' One step more, and the leader of the nationalist party keeps his distance with

regard to that violence. He loudly proclaims that he has nothing to do with these Mau-Mau, these terrorists, these throat-slitters. At best, he shuts himself off in a no-man's-land between the terrorists and the settlers and willingly offers his services as go-between; that is to say, that as the settlers cannot discuss terms with these Mau-Mau, he himself will be quite willing to begin negotiations. Thus it is that the rear-guard of the national struggle, that very party of people who have never ceased to be on the other side in the fight, find themselves somersaulted into the van of negotiations and compromise – precisely because that party has taken very good care never to break contact with colonialism.

Organizationally, these constitutionalists eager for seats around the baize table to negotiate deals and pacts with colonialism, came to be represented by the Kenya African National Union (KANU) party leadership of Jomo Kenyatta and Tom Mboya. They can all be called betrayers. They concealed compromise under nationalist slogans.

It was these elements, loyalists and betrayers who received the flag from the British. Those led by Moi's KADU and Kenyatta's KANU had a common platform in their rejection of the Mau Mau ideology. It was only natural that they should merge as they did in 1964, under KANU. Hand in hand they now went on to weed out any radical elements sympathetic to Mau Mau from prominent positions in the party, government and administration. The radical nationalist elements regrouped in the Kenya Peoples Union party led by Oginga Odinga and Bildad Kaggia. Over the years the Kaggias, the Oginga Odingas, the Wasonga Sijeyos, the J.M. Kariukis, the Waruru Kanjas were driven out into prisons or death. Kinyatti explains why

After highjacking our national independence in 1963, the remnants of these traitors, with full support of the ruling compradors, began to preach 'peace and brotherhood' – always invoking such slogans as 'enough blood has been shed', 'we all fought for independence', 'Let us forget the past', etc – in their attempt to make us forget the blood debts they owe. Since some of these individuals are now in positions of power and wealth, they have made it their main job to silence mercilessly any Kenyan patriot who speaks or writes about this heroic struggle. But if the past is any guide these efforts will be in vain. Two stanzas from the people's songs explain:

You Home Guards must know  
We shall never forget that  
You had us put in prisons  
And treacherously revealed  
The secrets of the Africans.

There can never be compromise with the traitors  
And no mercy towards them,  
For the blood of hundreds of our martyrs  
Cannot be forgotten  
And is crying for vengeance.

The Ogot-Kinyatti struggle on the interpretation of Kenya's history was thus more than an academic debate: it was an intellectual reflection of the warring, antagonistic class positions in Kenyan society since October 20, 1952. The opposed positions of Ogot's 'nationalist forces' and of Mau Mau radical ideology reflect the direction Kenyan society had taken in the fifties and sixties and now in the seventies and eighties.

With the publication of *Thunder from the Mountains* two years ago and particularly Maina-wa-Kinyatti's introduction to the songs the voice

of Mau Mau began taking the offensive in the field of historical scholarship. The book was a thunderbolt in the university's academic community. Some of the people described in the book as 'the leading anti-Mau Mau intellectuals' wrote to Maina-wa-Kinyatti threatening to sue him unless he apologised, withdrew the book from the market and paid for the damage to their spiritual wounds. Maina-wa-Kinyatti refused to apologise. There was expectation in the air. The interpretation of Mau Mau and our past was going to be on trial, in an open court. They hesitated. The suits never came.

Maina-wa-Kinyatti pressed on with the offensive. He collected Kimathi's papers and other original material he had got from his contacts with Mau Mau survivors under the title: *A Profile in Patriotic Courage: Dedan Kimathi Letters and Documents*. At the end of 1981 he handed the completed manuscript to a publisher. In May 1982, he completed his monumental work *The History of Kenya* seen from the viewpoint of the peasantry and the working class in the tradition of Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* and *A History of Guyanese Working Class*. In this history, the peasantry, the proletariat and the Mau Mau movement were going to occupy their rightful place in the successive struggles of Kenyan people against the Portuguese, the Arabs and the British. This was going to be the first history of Kenya written by a Kenyan. Significantly, it was to end in 1980, the formal beginning of the United States neo-colonial presence in the country with military bases in Mombasa, Nanyuki and possibly other spots in eastern Kenya. The last chapter was entitled: *The Current History of Kenya 1979-80*. At long last, Mau Mau was going to have a voice in a documented, meticulously researched and well written history by a Kenyan scholar trained in schools and universities in Kenya and America. Such a history could not be faulted on scholarship, nor could it be dismissed as wishful myth-making among a poverty ridden peasantry; nor, indeed, could it be faulted on the basis that it was a work of fiction in the form of novels or theatre. The news that he had been writing this history; that he had interviewed many Mau Mau cadres and generals; had, for a long time been an open secret. His lectures on Kenyan, African, Black and third world history were attracting hundreds of students. The peasantry and the working class had found their voice. Mau Mau was coming back.

Maina-wa-Kinyatti had clearly angered more than just the bourgeois academic and intellectual establishment. He had frightened the men at the top whose position the academic establishment merely reflected. They who in the fifties had feared the possible consequences of the British colonialists leaving the country had invited into the country a new, more powerful neo-colonial master in the United States of America. Were they perhaps disturbed by the vision of a Mau Mau coming back even though only in books and lecture halls? Could they perhaps hear in the distance the determined approach of a million awakened chanting songs similar to those of the fifties?

You who sell us out are great enemies  
Look around you and look at the British  
And also at yourselves  
The British are foreigners  
And they will surely go back to their country  
Where will you, traitors to your country,  
Run to?

Perhaps to America!

At any rate, on June 3rd 1982, Maina-wa-Kinyatti was arrested. The police raided his home in his absence. The result of 4½ months of police custody was that he had to be hospitalized in chains for an eye operation.

He was then formally tried for being in possession of a 'seditious' publication: *Moi's divisive tactics exposed*. Among the documents produced in court as evidence of sedition and subversion was the last chapter of that monumental history: *The Current History of Kenya 1979-80*.

The ruling authorities were trying to stage an impossible drama: they were putting Kenyan history on trial for being subversive of the existing order. That order is one of repression, and exploitation of Kenyans by neo-colonial forces headed by the USA and aided by proven colonial homeguards and Black Empire Loyalists. They wanted to bury that history and to silence for ever those who wanted to unearth it for Kenya and the world.

So on October 18, 1982 two days before the 30th anniversary of Mau Mau Freedom Fighters Day, Maina-wa-Kenyatta was jailed for six years. Four and a half months in police custody had led to the hospital: what are six years in prison meant to do?

### The 'Mimic' Bourgeoisie

The drama was farcical, though obviously punitive and vengeful in its intention. Beneath the farce is a cruel historical irony. This: those who are presiding over Kenyan affairs – driving patriots into prisons, detentions and death – are the same people who in the fifties were actively opposing the Mau Mau struggle for independence (Moi's KADU, homeguards, and loyalists) or those that compromised the struggle for personal and family gains (Kenyatta and Gema-type chauvinists) and made alliances with outright traitors and sellouts now grouped under the bureaucratic party skeleton labelled KANU.

I need go no further than Moi (KANU president and Head of State); Charles Mugane Njonjo (Minister for Constitutional Affairs, and the man who steered Kenya into a KANU rule one-party state); Justus Ole Tipis (KANU treasurer and the Minister in charge of detentions without trial); Robert Matanu (KANU secretary-general); Stanley Oloitiptip (Cheer leader of the Kenyatta and Moi regimes) and Jeremiah Kiereini, chief secretary and the executive head of the entire administration.

At the height of the British colonial terror campaign against Mau Mau Freedom fighters and the Kenyan people, 1954-1955, Daniel Toroitich arap Moi was a colonial government appointee in the then settler run Kenya Legislative Council. He had been hand picked for the job as a good African. Later Moi, the good African, became chairman of the KADU, a Muzorewa type of black front for settler interests, whose main plank was *majimboism*, splitting an independent Kenya into regional fiefdoms. Thus up to 1963, Moi as a KADU leader was openly working against a strong united Kenya.

Charles Mugane Njonjo has a parallel record in colonial service. From 1954-60 he was an assistant registrar-general in the Registrar-General Department. He rose to Crown Counsel, Senior Crown Counsel and deputy public prosecutor at the time of independence. Thus in 1955 and five years after, he was in active administration of the *State of Emergency Laws* that saw thousands of Kenyans hounded into prisons, detention camps and to death. His colonial service was in the family tradition. His father Josiah Njonjo, was among the colonial chiefs to form the first ever loyalist association – that is loyal to crown and colony – in the country.

Maino, Oloitiptip and Tipis were all prominent leaders of KADU. Tipis for instance was its treasurer, a position he holds in to-day's KANU.

Jeremiah Kiereini who has been signing the detention orders of the lecturers and others was in the colonial rehabilitation programme in

detention camps. At the notorious Athi River Camp, he was among other duties in charge of censorship of plays and drama sketches, making sure that only those which were anti-Mau Mau went through. He was thus the effective head of the anti-Mau Mau theatre, education and culture. Indeed many of the top men in the army, police and administration in both the Kenyatta and Moi regimes were in active colonial service in the fifties.

Moi and Njonjo have at different times on different occasions singled out a colonial governor, Malcolm McDonald for praise for his contribution to Kenya's independence! These survivors from the colonial service allied with Kenyatta and the elements later grouped under Gema are, despite the often bitter struggles between them, only representatives of a social stratum, the comprador bourgeois ruling class. Absurd as it might seem or sound, this class perceives its role as effectively that of colonial restoration with themselves as the business representatives of the West and the modern landlords or white settlers in black skins. Let me illustrate:

The arrest of Maina-wa-Kinyatti on 3rd June 1982, was preceded and followed by intensified cultural repression with plays being stopped and an open air theatre, built by peasants and workers at Kamiriithu, razed to the ground. The plays stopped, fall into three groups: those depicting the historical emergence of neo-colonies as in Joe de Graft's *Muntu*; those exposing the brutality of colonial labour conditions and showing the determined struggle of the Kenyan workers against them as in *Maitu Njugira* (Mother Sing for Me); those glorifying armed resistance to colonialism as in Al Amin Mazrui's *Kilio Cha Haki* (The Cry for Justice), or those merely showing the betrayal of hopes as in *Kilio* (The Cry) by the Nairobi School students. It is quite telling that Al Amin Mazrui was himself arrested and detained without trial exactly two weeks after his play *Kilio Cha Haki* was performed at the University in May 1982.

In the same period, and in dramatic contrast to this censorship of any cultural expression that exposes colonialism was the state patronage of western shows and pro-colonial culture. Thus for instance, almost the entire establishment (ministers, civil servants, top businessmen) headed by Charles Njonjo as guest of honour, trooped to the Kenya National Theatre to see a ballet version of *Alice in Wonderland*. But even more telling was the government purchase of the TV version of colonialism, *The Flame Trees of Thika*, which they gave prime time on national television in April and May 1982. The film show is part of the current literary nostalgia for the pre-1952 settler period, not by the white settler remnants, that would be natural, but by top Kenyan blacks: Nairobi shops are lined with books and memoirs glorifying the colonial adventures of the early footloose aristocrats. Obviously the top men in authority identify, not with the menial servitude of the Kenyan worker or his resistance to such servitude, but with the heroic deeds of the colonial adventurers on wagon carriages, horseback or rickshaws among natives smitten dumb and wide-eyed in servile gratitude for charitable deeds and kindly light amidst the encircling gloom.

Lead kindly light: it is not an accident that the missionary – the holy race of Simpsons, Arthurs, Beechers, Carey Francis, Leakeys – is held in great esteem as the educational mentor of this class. Powerful men in today's Kenya virtually grovel at the feet of the missionary remnants as if still seeking approval and praise. *Father, I'll never forget that you were the first to notice me: What I have you gave me: the path you showed me, I still follow.* Well, they might show gratitude: Like their colonial counterparts they have learnt the value of religion in its call for love, peace, unity and non-violence between the oppressor and the oppressed.

'The colonialist bourgeoisie,' wrote Franz Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth*, 'is helped in its work of calming down natives by the inevit-

able religion. All those saints who have turned the other cheek, who have forgiven trespasses against them, and who have been spat on and insulted without shrinking are studied and held as examples.'

The Kenyan bourgeoisie is a classic case of what Fanon describes. Their leisure time when they are not attending church to count their blessings one by one is divided between collecting money from poor peasants at Harambee weekend extravaganzas; golfing and playing a little squash and tennis; relaxing in sauna baths and massage parlours; gracing shaggy dog and flower shows; visiting casinos for a little gambling and ogling at dancing nudes from Las Vegas and Stockholm. Everything seems to be copied from a book, *The ABC of Colonial Manners or Western Decorum Made Easy*. Wrote Fanon:

In its beginnings, the national bourgeoisie of the colonial countries identifies itself with the decadence of the bourgeoisie of the west . . . (and it) will be greatly helped on its way towards decadence by the Western bourgeoisies, who come to it as tourists avid for the exotic, for big-game hunting and for casinos. The national bourgeoisie organizes centres of rest and relaxation and pleasure resorts to meet the wishes of the Western bourgeoisie. Such activity is given the name of tourism and for the occasion will be built up as a national industry.

A caricature? Yes, but it accurately describes the infantile imitative mentality, the crass world outlook which like borrowed robes sits uneasily on them, and the total lack of any originality in the Kenya neo-colonial ruling class. Their vision of society be it economic, political or cultural is derived from the only experience they know and care to know – the colonial economic, political and cultural order. Their image of progress, prosperity, authority, management is derived from colonialism. They have no policy directions of their own and confine themselves to carefully following the well trodden colonial paths.

Hence in industry and finance – say economically – they see themselves no more than as an attachment of the Western bourgeoisie, their mission, to quote Fanon, being 'the transmission line' between the nation and imperialism. They are happy, content really, to be only the agents for international tractors, motor vehicles, pharmaceuticals, textiles, boots, tinned foods and fruits, videos, TV sets, bottled water, every little thing manufactured abroad. Their dormant or hidden genius glows momentarily only when devising ways of crushing any competing national initiative in all areas for which they have been paid a commission to administer. What they gloat over as being MADE IN KENYA are really branches of western industries in the form of motor vehicle assemblies, fruit canning, textiles, papermills, shoes, tyres, pins, needles, and here they are satisfied if they are made directors and receive sitting allowances or royalties for the use of their names in the company's registers or letterheads. What they called Africanization and Kenyanization was really a localization of the messenger or transmission role formerly and exclusively played by the settlers or the European representatives of the mother industries, finance houses, and big business.

But where the European representatives had the vigour – after all they really were part of the imperialist bourgeoisie! – these 'mimic' men have not even the blood, and spirit to play their role with conviction. They are a kind of artificial limb where their European counterparts are real biological extensions of the mother capitalist class. They do not know when, where, how or what they peddle comes into being (they are like little children who blindly trust their father knows everything, and who live in the security of the 'fact' that their father can right every wrong!) and hence have not developed the responsibility that comes with know-

ledge. Their laziness, inefficiency, corruption, nepotism, ethnic chauvinism, does not make them play their messenger role efficiently. Foreign exchange reserves which should have gone into maintaining essential services have been depleted in importing expensive toys, buying houses and estates abroad, and opening secret bank accounts in Switzerland! Suddenly as in the case of Moi's KANU regime, they wake up one morning to find that there are no more vacancies in the messenger sector - foreign investment has slowed down increasingly, unsure about the reliability of the mimic men to keep stability - and, hence, their power of patronage, a little circumscribed. They become nervous. *Where is my father?* The result is the recent spectacle of Moi's *New Economic Policy*, unfurled with fanfare and applauded by liberal journalistic pundits and court poets. But it amounts to no more than the leader *begging* for European expatriates to come back and have a completely free hand in the management of our national affairs. In fact many are still there but the regime wants them to come in even *bigger* numbers. The export of profit will be made immeasurably easier. (But even here, there is an element of self-deception: Many companies were already carting away all the profits helped by the very greed and corruption in high places). The state will give *bonuses* to any company or industry that exports. Now since these industries are mostly foreign owned it means taxing the already overtaxed peasantry and working class on behalf of foreign companies. Even the projects in which the state participated (after being ground to nothing by corruption and inefficiency in high places) are now up for sale to private, mostly foreign, hands at give-away prices. The new economic policy is *carte blanche* to foreign investors to do whatever they want. Even the nationalistic rhetoric with which Kenyatta used to Kenyanise the messenger role has been abandoned. Is it any wonder that even foreigners are a little wary about the new *free port* economy? It is too good to be true or real. Besides, there is too much desperation in the begging tone of the leader.

In agriculture, it has been the same story. After independence, there was the rush to Africanise the inequalities of the colonial era. The state bought out the settlers. Many of the huge farms were then handed over to a few top officials in the civil service, the army and the private sector. A number of European settlers and multinationals still own huge coffee, sisal, fruit, and sugar plantations. Land hunger, the very basis of the Mau Mau struggle, haunts the vast majority of Kenyans. This situation cannot be justified by arguing that it resulted in higher productivity. On the contrary! For unlike their settler white counterparts who farmed full-time and reinvested in 'their' lands, the new owners did so on the telephone for they had fulltime jobs as government ministers, MPs, civil servants, or else were busy running after a multitude of retail and wholesale trades. Yet they wanted the state to continue guaranteeing them profits by underwriting their losses, giving them unlimited credit, and in some cases, as in the Narok wheat fields, a state agency did all the farming, harvesting and marketing and then handed over the profits to the owners. The farms handed over by the state were seen as endless sources of income and invaluable status symbols. No need to plough anything back, better bank the money abroad or buy a few transport vehicles for taxis, matatus, or goods! And trust the state or foreign expertise or more loans to come to the rescue. It was Franz Fanon who once again prophetically and accurately described this phenomenon:

The big farmers have, as soon as independence was proclaimed, demanded the nationalization of agricultural production. Through manifold scheming practices they manage to make a clean sweep of the farms formerly owned by settlers, thus reinforcing their hold on the district. But they do not try to introduce new agricultural methods,

nor to farm more intensively, nor to integrate their farming systems into a genuinely national economy.

In fact, the landed proprietors will insist that the state should give them a hundred times more facilities and privileges than were enjoyed by the foreign settlers in former times. The exploitation of agricultural workers will be intensified and made legitimate. Using two or three slogans, these new colonists will demand an enormous amount of work from the agricultural labourers, in the name of the national effort of course. There will be no modernization of agriculture, no planning for development, and no initiative; for initiative throws these people into a panic since it implies a minimum of risk, and completely upsets the hesitant, prudent, landed bourgeoisie, which gradually slips more and more into the lines laid down by colonialism. In the districts where this is the case, the only efforts made to better things are due to the government; it orders them, encourages them and finances them. The landed bourgeoisie refuses to take the slightest risk, and remains opposed to any venture and to any hazard. It has no intention of building upon sand; it demands solid investments and quick returns. The enormous profits which it pockets, enormous if we take into account the national revenue, are never reinvested. The money-in-the-stock mentality is dominant in the psychology of these landed proprietors.

The result in the case of Kenya has been low farm productivity, and the burden of feeding the entire population is still on the peasantry through their individual plots or cooperatives. This means their feeding others by depriving themselves. But even where the peasants have produced enough to feed the nation for a number of years as in the 1978-79 bumper maize harvest, top men in authority smuggle it to foreign countries, and leave the people to starve. Once again the regime falls back on the favourite time-worn solution: *begging*. In 1979-80 we Kenyans had the humiliating spectacle of the leader accompanied by nearly all his cabinet flying from one western capital to another begging for food. *Begging* and its corollary *charity* have become the central themes in an elaborate system of *dependency*. On this occasion the USA bailed them out with tons of yellow maize. The price? The regime immediately gave America military bases on Kenyan soil, our soil, without any debate or any form of consultation with parliament or with the seventeen million Kenyans whose lives would now be part of American war games! The regime, in callous disregard of the wishes of the people, thus turned the country into a launching pad for US imperialist interest in Southern, Eastern, North-eastern Africa, and the Middle East, and also placed Kenya at the frontline in the event of a nuclear war.

Thus neither in industry nor in agriculture was there any attempt to break with colonial structures. There was a small change though. Where before, the country was the exclusive province of British interests, the regime had to prove its independence and neutrality by opening the doors of the country to wider imperialist interests from Japan, Western Europe and USA. Otherwise, the comprador bourgeois elements thought it revolutionary enough to merely insert itself in the structure by becoming the business agents of western capital. It is in fact erroneous to think there is an African capitalist class in Kenya. If there was, its activities would by now have been reflected in investments in new industries, in agriculture, in manufacturing, in creative ventures, in real production, that is in the increase of use-values, real wealth. What we have had is a class of middle-men with lucrative commissions for recycling what is produced by peasants, or by foreign or local branches of foreign enterprises. Their monopoly of the state also allows them to loot the nation through direct haram-

bee taxation system every weekend. Here the Kenyan regime overreaches itself: is there any other country in the world where the President or Prime Minister or Chief of State spends every other weekend collecting money from people under full national television cameras?

In such a situation, is it surprising that the economy is gradually grinding to a halt or else keeps marking time with less and less vigour? The foreign investors, despite the new free port policy are holding back: the lady is too willing! As even the Grindlays Bank Group review of September 1982 put it: 'the short term outlook for the economy is not encouraging.' The Bank politely describes recent agricultural production as 'erratic'; manufacturing output as 'well below capacity'; and high unemployment as 'causing serious social problems'. It continues sadly, 'a steady deterioration in the terms of trade has caused serious balance of payments difficulties. In the past three years real personal incomes have risen marginally, if at all,' and, the Bank concludes, 'little improvement is expected in the short term at least.' The fact is that the Kenyan ruling authorities have been able to bravely soldier on only through loans, aid and grants, from the so-called friendly countries which means Western Europe and USA. The USA is particularly willing because such a dependent regime gradually turns the country into a client of the IMF and the World Bank and readily makes its territory and people part of the notorious US Rapid Deployment Force and nuclear strategy in the Indian Ocean. When Fanon wrote that brilliant chapter *Pitfalls of National Consciousness* in *The Wretched of the Earth* he could have been writing about Kenyatta's and Moi's Kenya:

The economic channels of the young state sink back inevitably into neo-colonialist lines. The national economy, formerly protected, is today literally controlled. The budget is balanced through loans and gifts, while every three or four months the chief ministers themselves or else their governmental delegations come to erstwhile mother countries or elsewhere, fishing for capital.

The former colonial power increases its demands, accumulates concessions and guarantees and takes fewer and fewer pains to mask the hold it has over the national government.

The failure to break new grounds, the whole philosophy of economic *Nyayoism* (which literally means the system of following the trodden paths or somebody else's footsteps!), has led to mass poverty and the alienation of the regime from the people. It is this increased alienation which more immediately explains the turn the events are taking.

### **Neo-colonial Theatre**

Over the years, the regime has responded to this alienation by becoming distrustful of the people. Compulsory public meetings are held where people are actually blamed for the poverty: women are bearing too many children. Some top government ministers are on record as saying that African women breed like rabbits! Indeed Charles Njonjo has said in parliament, that parents with more than three should be penalized. 'Our development plan was for 16 million people and suddenly because of irresponsibility the population goes up to 17 million making the development plan out of date,' he has told parliament. These men who do not believe in a planned economy, that is who believe that people should be at the mercy of blind free market forces now find they can plan human beings. Any wonder that the people are scared of them? At first the regime was only alienated from ordinary peasants and workers – these poor who cannot control their appetites! – but gradually the professionals like dentists, doctors, lawyers and the university community became repelled by the

naked avarice of the regime. 'My back is against the wall,' Moi was compelled to admit last June (1982).

If you have lost faith in the people, then you cannot trust them with democracy, can you? They will spoil the game. You cannot allow them to organize anything on their own: What might they not whisper together? Thus in Kenya it is illegal for more than five people to meet without a police licence. Real workers' organizations, even such bodies as University Staff Union, the Kenya Civil Servants Union, National Union of Students, are outlawed. Indeed any organization such as drama or social welfare societies which might bring ordinary people together are banned. And of course students and workers have no right to strike. There is too much democracy, Moi and his henchmen have been known to complain. So for years, opposition has been hounded into jails and detentions or harassed into an uneasy silence. Elections are few and far between and even then, popular leaders like Anyona and Oginga Odinga are barred from standing, and the results are often rigged. The party over the years became a bureaucratic skeleton manipulated into occasional motion by one or two people. In the end, this skeleton legalized itself into the only Party. Without a debate, parliament in June agreed with the President that too many parties, even if they only exist on paper, spoil the national broth. Wrote Fanon:

In a certain number of under-developed countries the parliamentary game is faked from the beginning. Powerless economically, unable to bring about the existence of coherent social relations, and standing on the principle of its domination as a class, the bourgeoisie chooses the solution that seems to it the easiest, that of the single party. It does not yet have the quiet conscience and the calm that economic power and the control of the state machine alone can give. It does not create a state that reassures the ordinary citizen, but rather one that rouses his anxiety.

The state, which by its strength and discretion ought to inspire confidence and disarm and lull everybody to sleep, on the contrary seeks to impose itself in spectacular fashion. It makes a display, it jostles people and bullies them, thus intimating to the citizen that he is in continual danger. The single party is the modern form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, unmasked, unpainted, unscrupulous and cynical.

But in the end, the regime was even scared of the party skeleton (might it not harbour ghosts of nationalism?) and increasingly it came to rely more and more on the army and the police, thus fulfilling another of Fanon's prophecies:

In these poor, under-developed countries, where the rule is that the greatest wealth is surrounded by the greatest poverty, the army and the police constitute the pillars of the regime; an army and a police force (another rule which must not be forgotten) which are advised by foreign experts. The strength of the police force and the power of the army are proportionate to the stagnation in which the rest of the nation is sunk. By dint of yearly loans, concessions are snatched up by foreigners; scandals are numerous, ministers grow rich, their wives doll themselves up, the members of parliament feather their nests and there is not a soul down to the simple policeman or the customs officer who does not join the great procession of corruption.

You rule by fear and you are also ruled by fear. Both the Kenyatta and Moi regimes were afraid of their own army and police force. They relied instead on secret military and defence pacts with foreign powers. Kenyatta started it in 1964 with a military pact with Britain which allowed

a British military presence in Kenya: Moi completed it, on a grand scale, by giving military bases to the USA. The fact is that over the years the comprador ruling class has come to look at Kenya and its people through the eyes of a foreigner. How else can we explain the extreme distrust of any genuine Kenyan initiative in any area of our lives?

Speaking in Mombasa after the attempted coup of August 1, Stanley Oloitiptip who is currently the Minister of Culture, is reported to have bragged to his audience: 'Kenyans thought we were finished!' The story was carried in the *Daily Nation* and the Minister, to my knowledge, has never disclaimed it.

The identification with a foreign colonial regime is complete! The result is that what is happening in Kenya to-day October 1982 is almost word for word, act for act, character for character a replay of the events of October 1952 when the British declared a State of Emergency, suspended any pretence of democracy and the rule of law, mounted cultural repression on a mass scale, killed thousands of Kenyans, and hounded others to detention, prison or exile. A colonial restoration, in other words.

There is a difference, of a kind, I suppose. The theatre then was colonial, the local directors were the British settler regime acting on behalf of the real masters in London. To-day the theatre is neo-colonial, the local directors are the Kenya comprador bourgeois regime acting on behalf of the real masters in London and Washington. But there are unbroken links, economic, political, cultural and even character, between the colonial and the neo-colonial theatre and these are concretely illustrated in the arrest, trial and jailing of Maina-wa-Kinyatti and the detention without trial of all the other patriots.

But even more dramatic symbolism of this continuity is provided by the regime's systematic attempt at the humiliation of Oginga Odinga. He was one of the founders of KANU when it was still a nationalist party in 1960. Now, for telling the world that Mau Mau was a heroic revolutionary struggle Odinga was excluded from power by the British and deprived of his passport several times. Today those who were opposing KANU then are denying him any participation in the political life of Kenya by excluding him from the Party he had helped found. Again he has been deprived of his passport and now he is under house arrest, under the provisions of the notorious Preservation of Public Security Act, a carry-over from the colonial State of Emergency.

### Those Who Oppose

Maina-wa-Kinyatti was ten years old when the British declared the State of Emergency all over Kenya on 20 October 1952, arrested the KAU and Mau Mau leadership, and unleashed a reign of terror which was to last for ten years. Kinyatti's father and elder brother, like thousands of other Kenyans, were imprisoned. He himself, though only a boy, was forced to go into hiding. Maina-wa-Kinyatti, later, at the beginning of the sixties, went to the United States for his undergraduate and graduate studies. The sixties in the States was a period of people's awakening and Maina-wa-Kinyatti immersed himself in the Black Movement and generally in the struggles of third world peoples. He was a great believer in the unity of struggles of all peoples, and particularly those of African peoples on the continent, in the Caribbean and in America. His studies and research on the history of African people, at home and abroad, had led him to see how their negative conception of themselves and their capacities was often rooted in their images of themselves acquired in the kind of historical literature they were forced to cram in schools and colleges. How people interpreted their past and their history was important in the crucial questions of

where they were and where they were heading. Even the actual language used – verbs, adjectives, adverbs included – could create certain attitudes – negative or positive toward a given event. For him people had to start with themselves, their environment and their heritage. Above all, he hated pretentiousness be it in scholarship or in life style. And of course, his sympathies with and faith in people – ordinary workers and peasants – never wavered.

He returned to Kenya in 1973 and joined the History Department, Kenyatta University College, where his lectures and seminars started attracting a wide circle of students because in him they saw a new, fresh interpretation of history, an approach that made sense of their past and did not alienate them from Kenya. Through his efforts they were able to look at Kenya, Africa and the third world as men and women of that environment and not outsiders or foreigners. Of course he asked awkward questions: the masses were the makers of history, but how come they always lost out? What were the historical roots of the post-independence betrayal of the people? It was these questions and the fact that he put Kenya first and did not steal or buy farms or run extra businesses that have led to six years in prison. Putting Kenya first: this is what unites him with the others arrested before and after him and detained without trial.

Willy Mutunga for instance was a brilliant law lecturer in the Faculty of Law at Nairobi University. As Secretary-General of the University Staff Union (banned by Moi in 1980) he had worked tirelessly to make it into a strong organization. But perhaps his greatest crime was giving free legal advice to the poor. This was never heard of in Kenya: a lawyer giving his services free?

Kamoji Wachira, lecturer in Geography, has made the only comprehensive study of Kenyan indigenous trees. He is a respected ecological consultant. What? Study Kenyan trees? Suspiciously entering forests and bushes and coming out with mere twigs and seeds? Detain this man!

Al Amin Mazrui is a brilliant linguist and writes plays in Kiswahili, about the struggles of ordinary Kenyans. He is asthmatic, has a weak heart, but works incessantly. In a society where working hard for your daily bread is despised – that's for peasants and workers! – an educated person who taxes his health draws suspicion. It is worse when such a person is taxing his health, not to amass some ill-gotten wealth, but to write in praise of the struggles of Mau Mau patriots or of peasants and workers. Why should he write a play called *The Cry for Justice* and in the language of the people?

The others are of similar breed. Edward Oyugi, expert in Educational Psychology believes in and talked on the primacy of Kenyan cultures, people's cultures, in the education of Kenyans. Children can and should critically draw upon the wealth of knowledge of Kenyan people acquired in their struggles in history. He was also a trustee of the University Staff Union. Mukuru Ng'ang'a, a historian did research among ordinary peasants and chose to spend his time in the villages and write about the Mau Mau struggles.

The two politicians, George Anyona and Koigi-wa-Wamwere, both detained by Kenyatta and now by Moi, were conspicuous, not only as consistent critics of corruption and who never amassed wealth, but also for their hard work and attention to detail. As for Khaminwa, lawyer and advocate of the High court, he had the audacity to be faithful to his professional ethic and take up the cases of even those at loggerheads with the president – Anyona and Odinga for instance.

I could go on!

The fact is that at the University of Nairobi and Kenyatta College there had, over the years, developed a new breed of young scholars – bright, confident, original, honest – whose simple life style was a stunning

contrast to the dominant imported culture of borrowed plumes. They fit the Fanonist honest, anti-imperialist intellectual:

In underdeveloped countries, there are certain members of the elite, intellectuals and civil servants, who are sincere, who feel the necessity for a planned economy, the outlawing of profiteers and the strict prohibition of attempts at mystification. In addition such men fight in a certain measure for the mass participation of the people in the ordering of public affairs.

In the mentality of the Kenyan ruling class, to put Kenya first; to love Kenya; to have faith in the capacity of the people to change their lives; to insist that people are the subjects and not just the passive objects of development; to insist on certain minimum professional ethics and democratic principles; to reveal that ordinary peasants and workers struggled for liberation; to sing praises to the Mau Mau movement; to write positively about the anti-imperialist heroes of Kenyan history – Me Katilili, Koitalel, Waiyaki, Nyanjiru, Kimathi, etc. – ; to reject foreign bosses; to reject a society based on corruption; to reject the rule of fear; to oppose *imperialism* and its local Kenyan allies, is a *crime*. Above all, to criticise the slave philosophy of nyayoism – that is the mentality of always following in the footsteps of USA and Britain; the policy of begging and charity; the programme of looting the peasantry and working class; the chronic dependence complex – is sedition, subversion and treason.

For such crimes many Kenyans – lecturers, lawyers, writers, journalists, students, democrats, ordinary peasants and workers – have been incarcerated in the very prisons and detention camps originally built by the British colonial settler regime to hold Mau Mau Freedom Fighters and other patriots. Maina-wa-Kinyatti for instance was in the very prison cells where his father and elder brother were held during the colonial State of Emergency declared over Kenya on 20 October 1952!

### **Repression Breeds Revolutionary Heroism**

What then is the significance of 20 October 1952 in Kenya to-day? The date brought suffering to us Kenyans, on a scale hitherto unknown. People's newspapers and books were banned. Writers and journalists were jailed for sedition. People's cultural organizations were banned. People's schools were outlawed, others literally razed to the ground. Our people's culture was being strangled: patriotic songs and dances for instance meant prison for the composers and singers. Workers' organizations were banned and their leaders jailed. Strikes were banned. Political parties were banned. Ban this, ban that, ban, ban, *burn*. The British killed our men, women and children. They hounded thousands of others into prisons and detention camps. The rest of the population was incarcerated in 'protected' villages where many more died of starvation and beating by the British-led homeguards. Our women were raped. Men and women were tortured in the most brutal revolting fashion. Death, Detention, Prison, and Exile: 20 October 1952 was the start of a ten year rule of terror.

But the same years saw the Kenyan people organize and resist on a scale they had never before attempted. People – ordinary peasants and workers – organized in their villages, towns, fields, forests, mountains and refused to be cowed by the colonial tyrant. Led by the Mau Mau, they fought back, deliberately, consciously, tenaciously, courageously, driven on and strengthened by their conviction that their anti-colonial cause was right and just. In short, the extreme and well organized repression of the British imposed State of Emergency called forth in Kenyan people organized resistance on a scale that later forced British colonialism to concede

independence. Organized repressive terror was met by organized revolutionary resistance. Had not that been the lesson they had learnt from their history?

When British colonialism invaded Kenya at the turn of the century, they were resisted by the different nationalities in Kenya. Waiyaki, Koital-lal, Me Katilili: they all led people's armies against the colonial occupiers. But they were defeated by the superior British weaponry, the superior British organization, and also, we must admit, by internal divisions within each nationality and between the different nationalities. As a result our land was taken away and for the first time in our history there was born a wage-earning class. Capitalism had entered Kenya: we were now connected to the world system of imperialism in the colonial stage. So our land, our labour, and our wealth were taken from us. Forced labour, taxation, slave conditions became our lot. We had no control over our lives. But once again our people regrouped, they rejected ethnic divisions and in the twenties, thirties and forties, they once again organized against British colonialism. The working class born in the new coffee, tea, sisal, sugar cane and wheat plantations – agricultural proletariat – and their counterpart in towns, born of the new commerce and industry – the industrial proletariat – and though small in number, led the peasantry to wage a national cultural and political resistance. In 1922 workers of all nationalities marched to the Central Police Lines in Nairobi to demand the release of the workers leader. They were led by Mary Nyanjiru. She and a hundred and fifty others were shot dead.

Meanwhile a cultural movement swept through the land. The Muthirī-rīgū dancers and poets; the Mumboist singers: even the Dini-ya-Mswambwa artistes – these were cultural manifestations of an anti-colonial resistance. These struggles found political expression in the anti-colonial nationalist organizations, which, although based in different nationalities, were united by the anti-imperialist content of their demands and assertions. Once again the nationalist leaders were jailed, detained or exiled. People's cultural and political organizations were banned. Defeat? No. For in the fifties they came back and organized at a higher level to deal a mortal blow to British colonialism not only in Kenya but in Africa. The Mau Mau armed struggle was the first of its kind in Africa: others, FLN, MPLA, FRELIMO, the Patriotic Front parties, etc were to come later.

That is the main lesson of Kenya history. People's movements were suppressed, sometimes even weakened by religious and ethnic divisions deliberately sown among them, but they would re-emerge at a higher level, stronger, brighter, more determined. People's leaders were imprisoned. But others emerged and quietly took up the baton of struggle. In Kenya, autocracy has always met with popular opposition, repression with resistance, reactionary violence with revolutionary heroism.

That spirit of resistance in Kenyan history is to-day being exemplified by the astonishing composure of the young students who, without lawyers, and in court on sedition charges which bring ten years in jail, courageously call for power to the people even as they are led away in chains.

After Maina-wa-Kinyatti was sentenced to six years in prison, the crowd of peasants and workers, some of whom had come from more than fifty miles away, burst into defiant liberation songs. Police charged into them but according to the *Daily Nation* of October 19 1982, 'the police had a hard time dispersing the crowd of women from the court corridors.' The lesson of that gesture, two days before 20 October, the 30th Anniversary of the Mau Mau armed struggle, was not lost on Kenyans. As the *Guardian* of Tuesday 19 October 1982 commented:

The trial and its verdict are clearly intended as a government warning to Kenyans of the consequences of dissent. But the highly unusual

singing demonstrations outside the courtroom, mostly by middle-aged country women, is an indication that the Mau Mau ideals that Kinyatti symbolizes for many ordinary Kenyans are still strong thirty years later.

What are these ideals so shamelessly betrayed? Land, food, houses, jobs, education, unity of Kenyan people, democracy, independence. But more than this. For in the words of Fanon,

Independence is not a word which can be used as an exorcism, but an indispensable condition for the existence of men and women who are truly liberated, in other words who are truly masters of the material means which make possible the radical transformation of society.

That for me is the revolutionary significance of 20 October 1952 in Kenya to-day: repression by the powerful met by the indomitable resistance from those they thought powerless to liberate Kenya from neo-colonialism, what Oginga Odinga once described as a state of Not Yet Uhuru. And as Mau Mau was a precursor of armed liberation armies against colonialism in Africa, so is to-day's struggle in Kenya against a neo-colonialism now led by USA part of the world wide people's battle against imperialism. The spirit of Mau Mau is coming back!

CSO: 3400/134

BRIEFS

PRESIDENT'S DISCREET VISIT TO ALGIERS--The greatest discretion surrounded President Moussa Traore's recent visit to Algiers; he was there, observers concluded, as was President Haidallah of Mauritania, to discuss Chad and the Western Sahara with Algerian President Chadli Benjedid. After bilateral and tripartite meetings, President Traore said "suggestions" could be made soon as to resolving the Chad problem. Any solution, the President added, would have to be an African one--"so we can resolve the impasse in our own interests". [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 3451, 3 Oct 83 p 2325]

CSO: 3400/104

PARTIES SHOW DISAPPROVAL OF 'SPEECH FROM THRONE'

MMM Party

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 7 Sep 83 pp 1,4

[Text] "The speech from the throne was uninspired and unimaginative, and full of contradictions and eloquent omissions." It was in these terms that Opposition Leader Paul Berenger commented on the government's official program-speech.

"The program-speech was uninspired, especially considering the fact that after the alliance's electoral campaign people were expecting a solid push for change, a great call for national unity among the people. This program-speech is unimaginative, because it is in fact almost completely composed of the same items that were contained in the speech of 25 June 1982. It is a list that was presented without any coherence and without any new ideas."

Mr Paul Berenger added: "As to the contradictions, they are enormous to a point verging on the ridiculous. For example, the government says it is going to continue to guarantee the autonomy of MBC/TV [Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation]. Another contradiction: the same government that decided to provision and supply manpower for the improvements on Diego Garcia has just called for the dismantling of foreign military bases in the Indian Ocean."

"In the very same speech from the throne, the government has just claimed it will wage a 'restless fight' against drug trafficking, while in fact nothing at all has been done in this area for a year. Also, the government has announced the nationalization of five sugar enterprises, while Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam and Sir Gaetan Duval pretend to look the other way.

"As for the omissions, the most eloquent concerns the struggle against corruption and waste. There is the matter, for example, of everything that was said in the speech from the throne of 25 June 1982 regarding the powers of the Ombudsman, the permanent anti-corruption tribunal, the need for deputies and ministers to declare their assets--all that has disappeared. Neither was anything further said 'on our gradual economic links with South Africa,' as mentioned in the speech of 25 June 1982. Nor was there a single mention of Air Mauritius, the elderly, the handicapped, the Ilois community, or workers let go because of their participation in labor actions.

"Finally, it was said that the Public Accounts Committee will be authorized to perform its functions, but not a word was said about the Estimates Committee which the alliance pledged itself to establish in its campaign platform."

"Moreover, it is ridiculous that, after trumpeting the word that thousands of Mauritians would be able to find work in the Malvinas, not a word was spoken on that subject in the speech from the throne. It is just as ridiculous to speak about prospects for getting jobs in Singapore."

#### Lalit Party

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 9 Sep 83 p 4

[Text] Leaders of the "Lalit" Party commented yesterday in a press conference on the speech from the throne delivered by the governor general, Sir Dayendranath Burrenchobay, in which the programs of the government in power were announced.

In the view of this party, which is on the extreme left of the political spectrum, "the measures called for in no way move toward a socialization of the economy, but are on the contrary oriented toward a more advanced liberalism."

The Lalit leaders stated, in that regard, that certain measures should have been taken "to reduce the inequalities in Mauritian society and to eliminate special privilege and discrimination." Lalit's principal spokesman, Mr Vijay Ram, said in that connection that the government's program makes no mention of a tax on wealth, or the rural tax, or even the tax on encampments.

The Lalit leaders also denounced the MMM for its position on the "best losers" issue and accession of the country to republic status.

Commenting on the economic measures proposed in the speech, Mr Ram said that before the elections the finance minister had declared that measures would be taken to provide for decentralization of economic power. Now, according to Mr Vijay Ram, it appears from this program-speech that an important role in economic development was given to the private sector.

The Lalit party notes, however, that some of the proposed measures are good ones, such as the introduction of the 40-hour workweek in the sugar industry. In that connection, the Lalit spokesman said that the 40-hour workweek should be introduced in all job sectors. Lalit also declared itself in favor of a lowering of the retirement age, but judged inopportune the proposal to reduce the number of public holidays.

The Lalit leaders also commented on other proposals contained in the speech from the throne.

9516  
CSO: 3419/6

**CENSUS RESULTS WILL NOT BE KNOWN UNTIL 1984**

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 7 Sep 83 p 1

[Text] Results of the recent population census will not be known until June 1984. Actually, according to the Bureau of Statistics, the processing of the data will take considerable time.

Nevertheless, an estimate of the population as of 31 December 1982 was published in the most recent Bureau of Statistics report which was released yesterday. Based on the results of the 1972 population census, it was estimated that on 31 December 1982 the population had reached 994,878, of whom 959,905 were on the isle of Mauritius, 34,643 on Rodrigues, and 350 on the other islands in Mauritian territory.

This report (the Bi-Annual Digest of Statistics--December 1982) also indicates fluctuations in the birth rate on Mauritius and Rodrigues since 1972. Thus, on 30 June 1972 the population on Mauritius was given as 826,199, of whom 413,580 were males and 412,619 were females. On the same date, the number of inhabitants of Rodrigues was 24,769, of whom 12,270 were male and 12,499 female. On Mauritius, from July 1972 to December 1982, 238,352 births were recorded, of whom 121,243 were males and 117,107 were females. On Rodrigues, there were 11,842 births, including 5,939 males and 5,903 females. The mortality rate for the corresponding period is also indicated. Thus, during the same period, 69,461 deaths were recorded on Mauritius, of whom 39,734 were males and 29,727 were females; and of the 2,268 deaths on Rodrigues, 1,171 were males and 1,097 females.

The report also compares the annual demographic growth rate on Mauritius and several other countries in various regions. Thus, the annual growth rate for the isle of Mauritius during the period 1963-1972 was 2 percent, while for India the rate was 2.2 percent, for the Republic of China 1.8 percent, for Ceylon (Sri Lanka) 2.3 percent, for Japan 1.1 percent, for Pakistan 2.4 percent, for France 0.9 percent, for England 0.4 percent, for Australia 1.9 percent and for Canada 1.6 percent.

9516  
CSO: 3419/6

FINANCE MINISTER ON RELATIONS WITH IMF

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 6 Sep 83 pp 1,5

[Text] The finance minister, Mr Vishnu Lutchmeenaraidoo, held yet another long working meeting yesterday with the head of the mission from the International Monetary Fund [IMF], Mr Abu Zobaa. After the meeting, Mr Lutchmeenaraidoo told the press that he "now has the means to pursue his program to reform the Mauritian economy." "The IMF," he said, "has relaxed some of its budgetary conditions and agreed to look at the economy as a whole in a medium to long-term perspective."

The minister said the discussions he held yesterday and Friday evening (at his home) with Mr Abu Zobaa "succeeded in clearing a lot of ground." The IMF and the Mauritian Government share the same concept with regard to structural adjustment of the economy. Mr Lutchmeenaraidoo at this point noted that the IMF provides short-term balance of payments support, in exchange for which it exerts tight control over the expansion of domestic credit to the public and private sectors, the budget, budgetary policy, the balance of trade and the balance of payments. "Traditional readjustment under the IMF has generally resulted in strangling the economy and in a worsening of the unemployment picture," Mr Lutchmeenaraidoo said.

The government tried to make the IMF understand that in the case of the isle of Mauritius, the readjustment program has aggravated the situation: almost no growth in the economy, reduction in the level of investment and growth in unemployment. The IMF, according to the minister, fully understands that the Mauritian economy must be looked at as a whole and that any analysis must take into account the necessity of promoting economic recovery and job creation. Mr Lutchmeenaraidoo indicated that the adjustment program put in place by Mr Paul Berenger, the former finance minister, was incompatible with economic recovery.

The minister announced that his program of reform for the Mauritian economy will rely on an aggressive campaign to promote investment in the tourist, agricultural and industrial sectors. He also spoke of the arrival of a mission from the Central Fund for Economic Cooperation [CCCE] and the French Ministry of External Relations. Discussion will be focused on French balance of payments assistance in the form of a line of concessional credit. Also, the British minister of trade, Mr Fletcher, is expected to arrive at the end of

September for negotiations regarding provision of a new line of credit on the order of 180 million rupees. These credits will be used for importation of capital goods.

In other matters, Mr Lutchmeenaraidoo spoke of the upcoming publication of a document describing the economic situation in detail. The document will contain a reproduction of the "letter of intent" signed last March with the IMF and a copy of the "statement of development policy" signed last May with the World Bank. The document, according to the minister, will be given the widest possible distribution in order to stimulate public discussion about the economic future of the isle of Mauritius. Mr Lutchmeenaraidoo has established a committee to take charge of dissemination of the document and to encourage debates on television and radio and in the press. "This measure is an integral part of our policy of frank dialogue between the government and the populace," he added.

9516  
CSO: 3419/7

MAURITIUS

DUVAL INTERVIEWED ON DIEGO GARCIA, OTHER QUESTIONS

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 2 Sep 83 p 4

[Article: "Sir Gaetan Duval to RFI: 'At the Moment, I Am Not Trying To Find Out Who Owns the Chicken, But Rather Who Will Profit From the Eggs'"]

[Text] A nearly ten-minute interview with the deputy prime minister, Sir Gaetan Duval, was broadcast Tuesday night over the airwaves of Radio-France Internationale (RFI) on the program "24 Hours in Africa". In this interview on French radio, Sir Gaetan Duval spoke of the political climate in Mauritius after the recent elections, the circumstances under which he was named deputy prime minister, Mauritius' foreign policy, the "Duval dynasty" and Diego Garcia.

On the subject of the Diego Garcia archipelago, the interviewer asked if Mauritius would consider signing a lease with the United States for use of the base on Diego Garcia, and Sir Gaetan Duval replied: "The legal aspect of the matter does not interest me for the moment. I am not trying to find out who Diego Garcia belongs to right now. I am not trying to find out who owns the chicken, but rather who will profit from the eggs. Diego Garcia has a potential for hiring Mauritian workers and a market for Mauritian products."

The interview was conducted by Mr Nand Kumar Bodha, an MBC journalist and one of the Mauritian correspondents for Radio-France Internationale. Asked about his being named to the post of deputy prime minister, while during the electoral campaign he had been presented as the possible minister of foreign affairs, Sir Gaetan Duval stated that the change occurred after Mr Kader Bhayat, designated to be deputy prime minister, had proposed this change himself. Sir Gaetan Duval added: "There will be no change, however, in the foreign policy that I advocated. Mr Anil Gayan, the minister of foreign affairs appointee, is a reliable man."

Some of the interview's other questions and answers:

[Question]: You were minister from 1965 to 1973. You return to the government in 1983. Is Sir Gaetan Duval's wandering in the wilderness over with?

[Answer]: Listen. The wheel turns; one day one is in power, and then another day, one is not. What I have learned during ten years is to respect the people's choice.

[Question]: One notices in your remarks, both before and after the elections, a certain realism and much modesty. Is this a new management style for the country's business?

[Answer]: I come back to what I said. The wheel turns in political matters and arrogance is out of place in a period of austerity. If one is asking the people to make sacrifices, it is better to ask nicely and in a human fashion.

[Question]: What is your opinion of Mr Jugnauth's government?

[Answer]: It is a good team with people who have experience, and we have young people who will soon be promoted.

[Question]: What does the PMSD represent today?

[Answer]: The PMSD's contribution to these elections was decisive in some constituencies and moreover was helpful everywhere. But in the present context, we foresee a fusion of what constitutes the alliance today. But I stress "we foresee", because we must take into consideration what the PMSD's supporters think of it.

[Question]: During the electoral campaign, one of the attacks launched against the PMSD was what has been called the "Duval dynasty."

[Answer]: When all is said and done, it is the electorate which is the judge. There are three of us in the Assembly and two in Mr Jugnauth's government. It is up to us to prove ourselves.

9895

CSO: 3419/12

STATEMENT OF DEVELOPMENT POLICY MADE PUBLIC

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 12 Sep 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] On Friday, Minister of Finance Vishnu Lutchmeenaraidoo made public the "Statement of Development Policy," a document addressed to the World Bank in May 1983 detailing the commitments of the Mauritian Government within the framework of the second structural reorganization loan. The document, signed by the minister of finance himself and former Minister of Planning Karl Offman, differs little from the one drawn up by Paul Berenger and Kailash Ruhee when the latter served as minister of finance and minister of planning. For the most part, the structural reorganization program for the Mauritian economy remains the same. Amendments made in the first document mainly concern economic indicators.

In the second document (signed by Lutchmeenaraidoo and Offman), it is stated that the economic growth rate for this year will amount to 3.2 percent (the latest estimates of the Ministry of Finance indicate that it would be under 2.8 percent), rising to 4.2 percent in 1985. Berenger and Ruhee estimated in the document published in March that the 1983 growth rate would be 3.5 percent, which figure would rise to 4.4 percent in 1985. The two documents point to the deterioration in the level of savings. Lutchmeenaraidoo and Offman foresee an increase of 15 percent in 1983, 17 percent in 1984 and 19 percent in 1985. In the first document, the estimated increase is 13 percent in 1983, 14 percent in 1984 and 19.8 percent in 1985. "The decision we have taken to liberalize interest rates is expected to contribute to this increase and to channel adequate credit to productive sectors," the document states.

Regarding the regular and development budgets, both documents state that the government will exercise close control over spending. Lutchmeenaraidoo and Offman state that the goal is to reduce the budget deficit from 13.8 percent of the gross national product (GNP) in 1981-1982 to 5 percent in 1985-1986. On the other hand, in the first document, the objective set was a reduction in the deficit from 13.8 percent of the GNP in 1981-1982 to 5.2 percent in 1986-1987. "This reduction is based on an increase in government revenues from 20.6 percent of the gross domestic product in 1981-1982 to 25 percent of the gross domestic product in 1985-1986," Lutchmeenaraidoo and Offman emphasize, while their predecessors noted that the government's revenue would go to 22.7 percent of the GNP in 1985-1986. Both documents emphasize a policy of holding down wages, reducing rice and flour subsidies and closing more private schools labeled as "substandard." The revision of water and electricity rates is also announced.

In the new document, Lutchmeenaraidoo and Offman speak of the government's intention to reduce the deficit in regular accounts from 6 percent of the GNP in 1983 to 3.5 percent of the GNP in 1985. According to Berenger and Ruhee, the deficit would be reduced from 4.7 percent of the GNP in 1983 to 2 percent of the GNP in 1985. Repayment of debts (excluding repayments to the International Monetary Fund) would reach a record rate of 20 percent in 1983, gradually dropping to 12 percent in 1990. "The government is very conscious of the extreme sensitivity of these forecasts to developments in export promotion and in tourism growth. Any obstacles such as may arise from retaliatory or protectionist measures in export markets or even unfavorable climatic conditions will cause a departure from this scenario," it is stressed.

Contrary to the statement of intention contained in the first "Statement of Development Policy," Lutchmeenaraidoo and Offman were anxious to state that measures will be introduced into the next budget in order to broaden the capital of the resident companies after evaluation of the tax burden on those same companies. They also indicate that the Cargo Handling Corporation will operate as a private company with majority participation of the government in the capital. Berenger and Ruhee announced that the Cargo Handling Corporation would operate with 100-percent government equity participation.

In the chapter "Public Sector Investment Program," the government states that it will have consultations with the World Bank before including in that program any project whose cost would exceed 100 million rupees. In the first Statement of Development Policy, the ceiling was set at 150 million. Regarding imports, Lutchmeenaraidoo and Offman stated that the government would impose no additional restriction in order to protect local replacement industries, as long as the revision of industrial policy has not been completed. Berenger and Ruhee stated that "the government will take extreme care before granting quantitative import restrictions for the purpose of protecting import substitution industries and will resort to such restrictions only in exceptional cases."

Another modification, that having to do with World Bank assistance to finance the initial operating costs of the Mauritius Export Development and Investment Authority. The first document states that such assistance will be sought for the first two years of operation, while the second emphasizes that World Bank aid will be requested for the first three years.

In addition, the new Statement of Development Policy does not mention the reduction in the sugar export tax. The following part was taken out of paragraph 50: "In the meantime, the government has reduced the surcharge on sugar export duty from 75 percent to 50 percent and will take other measures, if required, to enable the industry to overcome its short-term problems pending the outcome of the Commission of Inquiry."

As emphasized above, all the measures set forth in the Statement of Development Policy made public in March are again found in the second document. These measures on the sectorial level can be summed up as follows:

## Industry

1) The development of export enterprises 2) the establishment of an Equity Fund to be administered by the Development Bank 3) the establishment of the Mauritius Export Development and Investment Authority and an Industrial Coordination Unit 4) a promotional campaign in the Gulf countries and Mauritian participation in international fairs 5) the creation of a Productivity Council this year and an Industrial Training Scheme with the participation of the government and enterprises 6) the development of small business with the establishment of the Small Industry Development Organization.

## Tourism

1) Revision of air access policies in order to increase the number of tourists arriving 2) the organization of charter flights and the introduction of new services by Air Mauritius 3) the launching of promotional campaigns on new markets 4) participation by the Office of Tourism in international fairs 5) an increase in the Office of Tourism (14 million rupees) 6) revision of hotel prices in order to make them competitive 7) the construction of new hotels and the use of camps (about 1,500) by tourists 8) remodeling of the Plaisance airport 9) the construction of runways at St Brandon and Agalega with aid from the French Government 10) encouragement of the consumption of local products in hotels and aid to the development of handicrafts.

## Agriculture

1) Encouragement of agricultural diversification 2) the establishment of a Land Bank Authority and an Agricultural Diversification Corporation 3) maximum use of land of the crown for new crops.

## Irrigation

1) Adoption of the drip system in order to save on water and reduce energy costs 2) the launching of irrigation projects by small parcels 3) production of 40 percent of the country's meat needs by 1990 4) the establishment of a National Fishing Corporation.

## Parastate Bodies

1) Redeployment of 2,000 workers from the Development Works Corporation (DWC) 2) the conversion of 2,895 acres of Tea Development Authority (TDA) lands into small holder plots and the redeployment, by the end of 1984, of 1,250 TDA employees 3) a review of administrative problems of the Central Housing Authority.

## Education and Labor

1) A reduction of spending to 4 percent of the GNP or 14 percent of the current budget 2) an increase in the pupil/teacher ratio and the closing of more private schools 3) finding jobs abroad for Mauritian workers 4) the

promotion of self-help projects and small enterprises in order to create new jobs 5) the drafting of a manpower development program with the assistance of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation 6) a review of labor legislation and a reduction in the number of public holidays 7) the establishment of a Contributory Unemployment Scheme.

#### Energy

1) The development of new sources of energy and promotion of energy conservation 2) the production of electricity from bagasse 3) the completion of a study on possibilities of developing new sources of hydroelectric power 4) production of ethanol. The opinion of the World Bank will be sought before any project is begun.

11,464

CSO: 3419/5

MAURITIUS

BRIEFS

RETURN TO TRADE UNIONISM URGED--Various leaders and prominent members of the Mauritian Militant Movement [MMM], including the leader of the party (and of the Opposition), Mr Paul Berenger, are currently considering a demand by the GWF [General Workers Federation] that they make a new commitment to trade unionism. According to our sources, the executives of the two GWF unions involved in the sugar industry, the Sugar Industry Laborers Union (SILU) and the Union of Artisans of the Sugar Industry (UASI), have made an official approach to the MMM leader and formally asked him to be their chief negotiator. Mr Paul Berenger confirmed this information Friday afternoon, shortly before Parliament went into session. The MMM leader said "that a group of comrades and myself have been approached, not only by SILU but also by the GWF. We are considering the matter." Among the MMM members approached by the GWF is Mr Alan Ganoo, the former speaker [of the assembly], who had been approached about taking the position of minister of civil service and the interior in case the MMM came to power. [Text] [Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French, 12 Sep 83 p 4] 9516

SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN COCONUTS--Mauritius could achieve self-sufficiency in coconuts in 5 years if proper measures are taken by authorities. Dinesh Virahsawmy, owner of a 7-acre coconut plantation in the northern region of the island, believes that the objective could easily be attained within that time. Coconuts could even be exported. Virahsawmy's optimism is justified in light of the figures he put together. However, the major problem remains the heavy investment required. [Excerpt] [Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 3 Sep 83 pp 1, 4] 11,464

ONION SHORTAGE--Mauritius' onion production this year will show a shortfall, falling 50 percent below our total consumption. The drop is mainly due to two reasons: 1) the drought during the first quarter and 2) the lack of seed. According to estimates made by the Marketing Board, production this year will be about 1,700 tons, while last year, Mauritian production was 2,134 tons, slightly over 50 percent of consumption. This does not include the 800 tons of onions from Rodrigues and sold on the local market. [Excerpt] [Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 9 Sep 83 pp 1, 5] 11,464

MMM OFFICIALS CHOSEN--Mr Cassam Uteem, an MMM deputy, has been chosen to be the opposition whip in Parliament. The decision was made during the first working meeting of the MMM parliamentary group yesterday. In other matters, the MMM parliamentary group decided to recommend Mr Krishna Baligadoo to the speaker for the post of president of the Public Accounts Committee (PAC). The other members recommended for membership on this committee representing the MMM are Mssrs Rajesh Bhagwan, Jerome Boulle and Rajen Byalah. [Excerpt] [Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 3 Sep p 4] 9895

CSO: 3419/7

MOZAMBIQUE

SOVIET TRADE REPRESENTATIVE OUTLINES COOPERATION WITH USSR

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Yuri Flerov, Soviet trade representative to Mozambique]

[Text] Relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Mozambique are developing and consolidating on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation of 31 March 1977. This was reaffirmed repeatedly in the course of talks which take place periodically among the leaders of our nations. In the communique approved in March 1983, as a result of the visit to the Soviet Union of Samora Moises Machel, president of the FRELIMO party, president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, and marshal of the Republic; it must be emphasized that participants in the meeting and the talks expressed their satisfaction with the fruitful development of bilateral economic and trade relations, based on the long-term program for economic and trade cooperation for the period of 1981 to 1990.

In terms of the long-term program, the activities of the Soviet-Mozambican Intergovernmental Commission, founded during Comrade Samora Machel's recent visit to the USSR, are being developed. The commission proposed to the respective Soviet and Mozambican authorities that they come up with a document regulating mutual trade in terms of perspective. The Soviet and Mozambican partners calculated that the program for the movement of goods would create, for Mozambican organizations, a secure market for the sale of its national production--a market not subjected to the phenomena of crises and changes in political affairs--and guaranteeing, moreover, the supply of machinery, equipment, and materials needed by Mozambique on a stable basis. Upon determining the list of Soviet imports, the needs of Mozambican firms were taken into account in the greatest measure possible.

The work undertaken resulted in the signing, in January 1983 in Maputo, of the agreement on the mutual supply of goods between the USSR and the People's Republic of Mozambique for 1983-1985. In compliance with this, the USSR will supply Mozambique with industrial and transportation equipment, chemical and food products, and cultural articles and items for household use.

The USSR will be supplied with typical Mozambican export goods, such as sisal-hemp, tea, and sugar.

The volume of trade between the USSR and Mozambique should double in comparison with 1982 during the next 3 years.

According to evaluations by specialists in Mozambique's chamber of commerce, the trade agreement signed by the two countries for 1983-1985 brought a new impulse toward mutually advantageous cooperation, and the governor of the Bank of Mozambique, Prakash Ratilal, defined the agreement as an operative and needed mechanism for the regulation of mutual cooperation. He added that the goods produced by Mozambican workers and farmers will be supplied to the Soviet Union, which will reinforce the alliance between the workers and farmers of the two countries.

The establishment of the trade operations rests on the solid base of the trade agreement of 12 February 1976 and the documents signed on that base. The bulk of Soviet exports to Mozambique continues to be made up of machinery, equipment, and the respective spare parts. The list of supplies is constantly growing. In 1983, the first contracts referring to some types of mining equipment were drawn up.

Certain successes were reached in the promotion of the technical services system. The network of Soviet auto and tractor maintenance centers includes practically all the provinces in Mozambique. With the assistance of Soviet specialists, more than 6,000 qualified workers and technicians have been trained.

The USSR's participation in FACIM [expansion unknown] has already become a tradition. The exhibits of Soviet foreign trade organizations permit their Mozambican partners to obtain more detailed information on the possibilities of exporting to the USSR.

In 1982, the technique for harvesting and processing cotton, displayed in the open area of the Soviet pavillion, acquired enormous popularity. Machines which are similar to those exhibited will work in the country's state explorations. The Soviet Union's state committee for economic relations will contribute to the organization of its operation.

In 1983, the Soviet pavillion presents the technique of automobiles and tractors to the fair's hosts and visitors. Many know it well already. In this country, LADA, NIVA, and UAZ automobiles enjoy wide popularity. One can see them often on the streets of Maputo. In only 1 year (1982), Mozambique imported approximately 950 automobiles of this--and other--types. In the fields of state cooperatives and explorations in Mozambique, 600 Soviet tractors are being used, as well as other agricultural techniques from the USSR.

At FACIM-83, the Federal Republic of Moldavia is participating in the exhibit at the Soviet pavillion. There, the successes reached by this republic in the development of the food and agro-industrial complex are demonstrated. Moldavia's agriculture specializes in the cultivation of fruits and vegetables, as well as their transformation into industrial bases.

In this way, however, visitors to the Soviet pavillion at FACIM-83 will be able to gather much interesting and useful information.

It can be said that trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries contributes to the acceleration of economic development in Mozambique, namely in the primary branch of its economy--agriculture.

The volume of Soviet-Mozambican trade is increasing. In 1982, it grew 38 percent in relation to 1981, constituting 50.9 million rubles. The progressive development of Soviet-Mozambican trade relations and their considerable activation in 1983 has confirmed that the wide potential of multilateral cooperation between the USSR and Mozambique have already begun to be realized and bear fruit. The conviction that these fruits will be even more considerable was expressed in the greeting of the CC [Central Committee] of the PCUS [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] at the 4th Congress of the FRELIMO party: "The ties of friendship between our parties, ties proven with time, will also consolidate and develop in the future, in the interests of the Soviet and Mozambican peoples...."

Soviet-Mozambican cooperation is a clear confirmation of the USSR's attitude toward progressive cooperation with developing countries, formulated in the speech by the secretary-general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Yuriy Andropov, in the Central Committee's November plenary (1982): "Solidarity with the nations which freed themselves from colonial oppression and with people who defend their independence was and continues to be one of the fundamental principles of Soviet foreign policy."

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CSO: 3442/4

MOZAMBIQUE

REACTIONS, CONSEQUENCES OF RNM KIDNAPPINGS

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 3 Sep 83 p 13

[Article by Alves Gomes, Maputo]

[Text] The kidnapping of 24 Soviet citizens in Zambezia by a Mozambican National Resistance (RNM) group is provoking a strong reaction in Western diplomatic spheres. A European diplomat told EXPRESSO that "this time, the South Africans have gone too far", adding that "in light of the existing evidence of South Africa's connection to these groups, it is acceptable to exert pressure on the Pretoria government."

The person in charge of U.S. affairs in Maputo who, in the meantime, met with the minister of foreign affairs, Joaquim Chissano, also affirmed this worry shared with the Mozambican government, according to what we learned from the aforementioned source, who requested that the name of his country not be mentioned.

Western diplomats' concern for the 24 Soviet technicians, kidnapped on 20 September in Morrua, is based on the fact that "after all, citizens of a world power are involved" and this power can "be brought to act in a way which could completely alter the correlation of forces in the area."

Last week in Maputo, the Soviet ambassador confirmed that his country did not feel intimidated by this action and that it would continue to support the Mozambican Government. The vice-minister of mines, who came to Maputo to attend the funeral of the two slain Soviet technicians, made the same declaration.

In spite of the diplomats' having "confidence in the way the Mozambican government will act" in this case, there are rumors in those circles that the Soviet Union has moved some warships to the coast of the Zambezia province so that they will be ready to lend support to the Mozambican army at any time.

Furthermore, according to our source, "it is accepted that whether it is the 2 technicians slain during the attack on Morrua or the 24 kidnap victims, there is no connection with the army," there being indications that Western powers' embassies will exert pressure on the South African regime so the technicians will be freed.

Our source, nevertheless, mentioned the fact that, after the announcement in Lisbon of the Soviet technicians' kidnapping, only on Wednesday (the 31st) and when "rumors ran through Maputo that a few more hostages had been killed", the "Resistance" radio station--broadcasting from the Transvaal (South Africa)--claimed responsibility for the act and declared that if the Mozambican army tried to free the Soviets by force, it would be ready to kill the entire group.

#### Unforeseeable Consequences

For its part, and after having released a communique on the attack on the tantalite mine in Morrua and this week announcing that it will give the text of this communique to the UN Security Council, the Mozambican government has not commented on the military development of operations to free the group of Soviets. People coming from Zambezia told us, however, that the army has "the group under control" and is proceeding with enormous movements.

The choice of Soviet citizens as a target for this operation is being interpreted in unofficial circles as yet another proof of South African involvement, with this government trying to direct its military destabilization operations in such a way as to prove that it acts in defense of the West "against the Soviet presence in Africa." However, in the case of Morrua, South African intentions do not seem to be encountering among Western diplomats the same reaction as that which surrounded the capture of a Soviet sergeant in Angola in 1981. It should be noted the Portuguese and West German technicians were not directly endangered during the attack.

The fear of Western diplomats in Maputo is that this type of operation may force the Mozambican Government to break with its policy of independence, or that the Soviet Union will find it justifiable to increase substantially its military support in Mozambique, which, according to the diplomatic source contacted by EXPRESSO, would contradict the present American policy of approximation to Maputo.

The attack on the mine in Morrua occurred practically 1 month after President Samora Machel visited the province of Zambezia, where he named a new military command, led by one of the most highly esteemed Mozambican officials, Brigadier General Jose Ajape. The Mozambican leader then criticized and fired several officials, accusing them of being responsible for the deterioration of the military situation in the province.

#### Attacks Via Malawi

The Resistance's activities in Zambezia began last year, leading to a deterioration of relations between Mozambique and Malawi. Today, as then, it is claimed in Mozambique that these groups enter Zambezia from Malawi, to which place they are taken by South African aircraft. Encounters at a military level have since taken place between the two countries, with Malawian authorities affirming that, although they accept the possibility that South Africans are utilizing inhospitable areas in their country, they know nothing of such activities.

It must be mentioned that Zambezia provides close to 50 percent of Mozambique's income, and several Western and socialist countries are involved there. When he visited Zambezia at the end of July, Samora Machel said that "the bandits do not want to allow us to develop."

Aside from producing tea, copra, and corn, and providing a large percentage of shrimp for export, Zambezia has great mineral resources. In the case of tantalite, an English prospecting technician told us that the world's largest known reserves of this mineral are located there. This ore is used to reinforce chromium and steel alloys, and it is worth \$100,000 per ton.

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CSO: 3442/4

SOVIET PARTICIPATION REPORTEDLY INCREASING

Lisbon O DIABO in Portuguese 20 Sep 83 p 17

[Text] In Inhambane Province, where there has allegedly been an offensive by FRELIMO troops, sources from the Resistance categorically denied the reports, calling them "a complete, gross lie designed to cover up the repeated defeats suffered by the demoralized government army." Also denied were reports claiming that guerrillas were captured by FRELIMO in Maxixe city and exhibited publicly. An RNM representative told me that: "These persons are either the same ones there were exhibited earlier in Chibuto and Maputo a few months ago, or they are new people hired or lured by FRELIMO to play the role of prisoners of war for a few hours. It is really incredible how far Machel's propaganda machine will go in spreading shameless lies."

There is a guerrilla offensive taking place in Inhambane Province, as part of the national campaign. There are reports of 43 more desertions from Mabote barracks, and the destruction of an important FRELIMO base near that city. According to the guerrillas, a Soviet-made M-18, troop transport helicopter piloted by two Cuban officers was shot down and the Cubans were killed when they tried to take off during the attack. More than a dozen and a half military vehicles were destroyed at that government post and 49 soldiers from Machel's army were killed.

Further information received from the Resistance and confirmed by other sources inside Mozambique indicates increasing use by government forces of "T-54" armored vehicles and "BTR" type tanks, both Soviet made. During last month alone, the guerrillas destroyed three "T-54's" (one in Tete, another in Inhambane and a third in Gaza), and one "BTR" tank.

Moreover, it is also reported that the Soviet Union is playing a more active role in the fighting in Mozambique. Russian officers in Mozambique are no longer serving only as instructors and military advisors but are now taking over reconnaissance missions.

Meanwhile, six more civilians were shot in Mozambique on the pretext of being guerrilla supporters. These men were executed in Gurue, in Zambezia Province. Among those assassinated by FRELIMO was an old chieftain accused of providing food to Resistance fighters. The person who disclosed this information was British journalist Joseph Hanlon, a BBC correspondent in Maputo.

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CSO: 3442/8

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

CSSR DELEGATION VISITS NAMPULA--The delegation of the Czechoslovak Committee of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa, headed by Miloslav Vacik, has been in Nampula since day before yesterday, continuing the visit that it is making to our country at the invitation of the AMASP Mozambican Association of Friendship and Solidarity With Peoples. On his visit to Nampula, Miloslav Vacik, who is also Vice President of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, is accompanied by the Secretary General of the AMASP, Abner Sansão Muthemba. The delegation was received on Saturday by a member of the Political Bureau, Marcelino dos Santos. The Mozambican leader used the occasion to brief the visitors about the work that the Mozambican people are currently engaged in, specifically the fight against armed bandits and against hunger. The Czech delegation has already begun conversations in Maputo with a delegation from the AMASP, to whom it delivered a document formalizing an offer of candelabra for the future headquarters of the Association. At the meetings that it has held with Mozambican leaders, the Czech delegation has promised to intensify its efforts to develop relations of cooperation and solidarity between the Mozambican and Czech peoples. Text Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 24 Aug 83 p 3 12430

TRADE AGREEMENTS SIGNED WITH CSSR--The People's Republic of Mozambique and the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, last night in Maputo, signed agreements and protocols in the area of foreign trade after conversations held under the aegis of the Mixed Subcommission. According to information obtained, the most important agreement signed between the two socialist countries deals with payment arrangements for trade between Mozambique and Czechoslovakia. Under this agreement, Mozambique is to supply Czechoslovakia with tea, cotton, cashew nuts, sisal and other products, while Czechoslovakia for its part undertakes to send Mozambique general consumer goods, metal products, construction materials, and raw materials for brewing beer. Among the Czech consumer goods are noted textile articles, toys, missangas [translation unknown], sporting goods, and domestic appliances. The agreement also establishes lists of goods to be covered by an interbank credit line for sundry machinery and equipment, spare parts, and metal products that Czechoslovakia will supply Mozambique in 1984. The talks in Maputo within the framework of the Mixed Subcommission for Foreign Trade were led by João Coutinho, National Director of Finance and Vice Chairman of the Mixed Commission, on the Mozambican side, and by Joseph Koci, Vice-Minister in the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade and Vice Chairman of the Mixed Commission on the Czech side. Text Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 31 Aug 83 p 1 12430

FARMING EQUIPMENT FROM BRAZIL--Twenty-two Brazilian farm machines that have been on display at the FACIM/83 Agricultural, Industrial and Commercial Fair of Mozambique will be delivered at the conclusion of this exposition to the Meat Control Unit for use in our country, as reported by Jaime Molina, Brazilian farm technician at that country's booth at the fair. The machines being left in Mozambique include threshing machines, rice hullers, and silo loaders, which will be installed in various production locations. According to our source, the machines were built in Brazil. Jaime Molina also said that because of the simplicity of their construction and operation, these machines lend themselves more readily to use on family farms. The Brazilian technician said that this is the second time that Brazilian machines of that type have been left with the Meat Control Unit after the fair, since in 1981, 15 machines stayed in Mozambique. To assure the operation and maintenance of these farm machines, a course will be given at the Brazilian Pavilion for several Mozambican workers, to be sent by various companies. According to Jaime Molina, this course will not only guarantee good operation and maintenance of this machinery, but will also improve the production capacity of the other 15 pieces of equipment that have been in our country since 1981.

Excerpt Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 1 Sep 83 p 8 12430

MOMA, CHINDE PORTS REOPENED--The ports of Moma and Chinde, in the Provinces of Nampula and Zambezia respectively, have been reopened to coastal shipping after being closed for almost 15 years, NOTICIAS has learned from the National Directorate of River and Ocean Transportation (DNTMF) in Maputo. The port of Moma, which had been closed since 1968, was reopened on 11 August by the Mozambican coastal ship Muanza, which loaded 1,000 tons of copra from the Boror Company into its hold. Up to that time the port served only very small sea-going units, primarily fishing craft, the DNTMF source declared. The port of Chinde was also reopened to coastal shipping this past 31 July by the ship Liaz. This port will serve as the shipping point for various farm products from the Province of Zambezia, especially sugar from the Sena Sugar Estates. It will also serve as the port of entry for supplies being shipped into that province. According to the DNTMF source, the Port of Moma was closed in 1968 because of difficult access. Its reopening was made possible as a result of a large hydrographic survey and navigational marking project undertaken by work teams from the DNTMF's Department of Navigation and Hydrographic Surveying over a period of about 10 months.

Text Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 23 Aug 83 p 8 12430

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH SWEDEN--"Mozambique has great possibilities for developing quickly, because the people have all the necessary will and strength, and the workers demonstrated that right here at the FACIM. What you need is simply equipment and technology. Cooperation between Mozambique and Sweden is going to show that some of the fundamental objectives of your development will soon be achieved," said Lars Hogblom, Director of the Swedish Pavilion, which won first place at the exposition. The areas of cooperation between Mozambique and Sweden are vast; in addition to the financing of equipment imports, they cover the sectors of agriculture, industry and energy, transportation, communications, consulting, and the training of Mozambican technicians in various specialties. Sweden began cooperating with Mozambique through the Mozambique Liberation Front in 1965.

From then until the proclamation of national independence, Swedish financing for Mozambican projects grew continuously. In 1982 alone, that European country's financing of Mozambican development projects reached 1.2 million meticals, the highest figure ever in some 20 years of solidarity and cooperation. For the 1983-1984 two-year period, Sweden will make available to our country through the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) the amount of 260 million Swedish kronor, equivalent to more than 1.3 billion meticals, basically for the agricultural and forestry sector but also for imports and consultants. *[Excerpt]* *[Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Aug 83 p 2 12430]*

FISHING VESSELS FROM USSR--The joint Soviet-Mozambique Fishing Company [MOSOPESCA] will receive three new fishing boats from the Soviet Union by the end of 1985. The vessels will add to the present fleet of eight boats. Each of them will have the capacity of catching between 1,500 and 2,000 tons of shellfish every year. According to the representative of the Soviet Ministry of Fisheries in Maputo, the first vessel will arrive in Mozambique this year. He said 20 Mozambicans will go to the Soviet Union this year for training in the sailing and repair of fishing vessels. Meanwhile, in Maputo port 1,800 tons of fish from the Soviet Union have been unloaded for Maputo and Beira cities. *[Text]* *[MB211903 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1100 GMT 21 Oct 83]*

AIM, TASS SIGN AGREEMENT--The Mozambique Information Agency (AIM) and the Soviet New Agency (TASS) signed an agreement in Maputo for the establishment of a telegraph line between Maputo and Moscow. The agreement will permit the two agencies to establish the circulation of an informative volume much greater than that which exists at this time. It was signed by Carlos Cardoso, director of AIM, and P. Chnelkov, minister-counselor of the Embassy of the Soviet Union in the People's Republic of Mozambique. Speaking at the signing ceremony, the national director of propaganda and publicity, Jose Freire, representing the Mozambican minister of information, said that the agreement will permit "a greater knowledge of the realities of the two peoples and a greater closeness between the two nations." For his part, the minister-counselor of the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Maputo fit this agreement into the fight against imperialism's predominance in information. The two agencies have cooperated since 1976, when a general cooperation agreement was established. *[Text]* *[Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Aug 83 p 8]*  
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SWEDISH DONATION--Most of the Swedish products on exhibit at the International Fair of Maputo will stay in Mozambique, announced the director of that country's pavilion. According to Lars T. Hogblom, Swedish companies have already shown an interest in letting the products stay, for they reflect some of the main areas of cooperation, aside from the fact that there is an interest on the part of the Mozambicans. The director of the Swedish pavilion said that, of the 15 Swedish companies present at this fair, 4 will open offices in Mozambique and they are already negotiating the formalities with Mozambican authorities. These companies specialize in consulting and planning; the production of synthetized carbides; special steels, saws, and tools; hydroelectric and energy systems; telecommunications consultants; and shipping companies with the container or pallet system, and "RORO" ships. Atlas Copco, Scania, Viak, Volvo, and Dinapac are among several Swedish companies already represented in Mozambique. *[Text]* *[Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Aug 83 p 4]* 12353

DELEGATION RETURNS FROM HUNGARY--A delegation led by the secretary general of the Organization of Mozambique Women [OMM] returned to the country yesterday from Hungary, where it took part in the meeting of the council of the Women's International Democratic Federation. During its stay in Hungary the OMM delegation held talks with the National Council of Hungarian Women, and it was decided that the Hungarian women will support OMM in the preparation of its extraordinary conference and in production centers, particularly needlework. [Excerpt] [MB231149 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1700 GMT 21 Oct 83]

SOVIET SHIPS OFFSHORE--The "Voice of South Africa" has reported an undetermined number of Soviet ships off the coast of Mozambique. The broadcasting station, citing Western diplomatic sources in Maputo, said that the movements of the Soviet fleet were related to "Soviet plans to rescue the 24 Soviet citizens taken prisoner last 21 August by the Mozambican National Resistance," the guerrilla movement opposed to the FRELIMO regime. The "Voice of South Africa" added that this Soviet action could affect the already precarious balance between the East and the West in this part of southern Africa and termed "positive" the possibility that "the Portuguese, who are stepping up their cooperation activities with Mozambique, would offer to replace the Soviet, Cuban and East German advisors currently in Mozambique." According to the station, the possibility was "suggested" by U.S. President Ronald Reagan to Portuguese President Eanes during recent talks in Washington. The 24 Soviets were captured by the National Mozambican Resistance (RNM) at the Morrua mining complex, where two Russians died. Morrua, in Zambezia Province, brings in about 50 percent of Mozambique's foreign exchange. [Text] [Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 21 Sep 83 p 23] 9805

SPANISH HEALTH ASSISTANCE--The Kingdom of Spain has offered surgical equipment valued at 1,000,200 meticals to the People's Republic of Mozambique. The gift was delivered by Spanish Ambassador Alvaro de Castilla during a ceremony in Maputo this morning attended by Fernando Vaz, deputy minister of health. Deputy minister disclosed that the equipment will go to clinics and health centers in Sofala, Manica and Zambezia to replace equipment that has been destroyed by the armed bandits and to equip new clinics. It was also disclosed during the ceremony that in the framework of cooperation between Mozambique and Spain in the field of health, the Kingdom of Spain has agreed to equip a highly specialized otorhinolaryngology clinic. As part of the same cooperation, eight doctors and various medical experts are scheduled to arrive in the country soon. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1400 GMT 21 Oct 83 MB]

CSO: 3442/20

HNP STATEMENT ON NAMIBIA VOTE, JOINT PARTY INITIATIVE

HNP Policy Criticized

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 14 Sep 83 p 6

[Editorial: "Can the HNP Work Wonders?"]

[Text] It is the proper right of the HNP (Reconstituted National Party) to draw up its policy as a political party and to perpetuate its policies as far the law allows.

But it becomes a somewhat ridiculous game to want to commandeer everything that they identify with South-West Africa in order to record a no-vote across the border on South Africa's planned constitutional system.

In the first place, this is a very distorted policy which tries to pretend that what has happened in South-West Africa over the last 10 years has been from beginning to end only bad. The truth of the matter is that South-West Africa has remained one of the most pleasant countries in which to live.

In the second place, the HNP action diverts the attention of South-West Africans from the real problems on which they ought to be concentrating. A no-vote in South Africa will not at all change South-West Africa's fundamental problems, no more than a change of government in the Republic of South Africa will change or solve the South-West Africa problem.

This has already been proved by history.

Today it is clear that the replacement of a VP [United Party] government in South Africa with a NP [National Party] government changed practically nothing with regard to South-West Africa's international position.

And Dr A.P. Treurnicht and Mr Jaap Marais will be able to work wonders no more than Dr Malan (or Gen Smuts) could work wonders. They will probably be more powerless than those two old giants from the past!

Joint Party Initiative

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 15 Sep 83 p 6

[Editorial: "Wise Step"]

[Text] The manner in which South-West Africa's political parties and alliances have made contact with one another during the past few weeks, as well as the consequences of this, holds out much to praise for South-West Africa's political future.

1. These political organizations acted with great self-control and remarkable self-discipline for the sake of South-West Africa,

It is highly exceptional that these parties could succeed in placing the national interests above party interests.

It would be easy to try to profit from the initiative of the last few weeks. But they have refrained from doing so. If things can proceed in this way, the planned multiparty conference will be largely safeguarded against trivialities.

2. It appears as though the parties and alliances have seen the task ahead of them very clearly.

Their immediate task is not to deliberate upon the independence of South-West Africa or upon the establishment of an interim authority; their first task is to create the machinery through which the country's political parties can come together in order to discuss the situation with which the country is confronted.

And this is what the affected parties have been working on.

The multiparty conference will naturally have to face today's reality with an open mind. Is it going to be something beyond the planned National Council of the Administrator-General? Is it going to be something similar to the National Council? Is it going to attempt to ignore both the United Nations and South Africa and go its own course? Is it going to petition South Africa to initiate formal ventures according to the wishes of the conference? Is it going to petition the Adjutant-General to recognize the conference by proclamation as the organ that, in the name of the people of South-West Africa, can work out an interim deal?

But these questions are for later.

The most important question right now is: how should the multiparty conference be composed? How will it function? What issues will it address?

3. It is clear from the short press statement of the evening before last that the parties which have assumed the leadership role do not wish to claim any honor for themselves at the expense of the other parties. The fact that they have not yet finished their talks and obviously did not form into a camp into

which no other parties could be allowed, was indicated most clearly by the wording and style of the statement.

Everything suggests reflection and the honest exchange of thoughts.

Every true South-West African party will be able to identify with this. For each one there is ample opportunity for meaningful contributions.

#### SWAPO Attitude

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 20 Sep 83 p 4

[Editorial: "Distorted Picture"]

[Text] The refusal of SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] to take part in the multiparty conference once again shows very precisely how distorted this organization's picture of the present situation is.

1. SWAPO has not yet even received an invitation to the conference and thus has not been informed first-hand about the goal of the conference, but it is simply said beforehand that they will not take part.

Does this seem to be a sensible approach, when other South-West Africans with clear South-West African motives wish to create an opportunity to at least talk with one another?

Previously, SWAPO's criticism was that the domestic parties were accomplices of South Africa; for that reason it did not want to talk with them. And now that the domestic parties have demonstrated their unattachedness and their integrity in all respects, SWAPO still does not want to think things through with them.

2. The motivation for the refusal to take part in the multiparty conference is that the UN settlement plan has been accepted by all interested parties and that most of the problems have reportedly been solved.

Apparently SWAPO is now sitting around, in all its childishness, and merely waiting for the implementation of this plan!

They apparently do not acknowledge the controversy surrounding the Cubans. And, in the same way, SWAPO has apparently been unaware of the outstanding points about which the domestic parties have not to this day heard a word.

A lot of water will flow under the bridge before Resolution 435 will be implemented. This is as clear as "the stars in the sky." But SWAPO does not see this.

3. If all the parties were to fold their hands and timidly sit around waiting for wondrous works by the United Nations, this would simply mean that South-West Africans would be ruled by South Africa indefinitely--1 year, 2 years, 3 years, perhaps 5 more years.

A realistic politician makes use of the options that are available to him for the moment.

What the domestic parties realize is that, after independence, they will always have to move forward on the rocky path together. At any rate, they will have to engage in conversation with one another somewhere in the future.

Surely it is not necessary for South-West Africans to call for UN help before they can talk with one another meaningfully about their common concerns and their mutual future.

If SWAPO is so poor at laying out the issues that it needs UN help before it can accomplish the most basic underlying principle of democracy, specifically, the exchange of thoughts, then it has indeed not yet gotten to the most fundamental element of politics.

3. South-West Africa's problems and the good of its people are not matters which can be put off for settlement some day; the people can rightly demand that its politicians tackle those issues right now which are right now at hand.

If SWAPO thinks that South-West Africa's only problem is the attainment of independence, then it really does not know what the needs of the people are. Independence is an important matter; no one will deny that.

But man cannot live by independence alone!

SWAPO sees the initiative by the parties as a "different initiative" (besides Resolution 435). The truth is that this is an interim initiative. To understand this really does not require much intelligence.

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CSO: 3401/5

INTERVIEW WITH SWAPO'S REPRESENTATIVE IN WEST AFRICA

Dakar TAKUSAAN in French 26-27-28 Aug 83 pp 18,17

[Interview with Eddy E. Amkongo, SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] representative in West Africa, by Moustapha Toure; date and place not specified]

[Text] Mr Eddy E. Amkongo, SWAPO's West Africa representative based in Dakar, was not charitable toward the illegal and racist government of South Africa in his interview with us. He also accused the contact group (France, FRG, Canada, Great Britain and the United States) of trying to impede SWAPO's advance by attempting to force it to accept decisions made by Washington, in collaboration with Pretoria.

Mr. Amkongo noted the special ties SWAPO maintains with the socialist countries, including the USSR, which are providing unconditional aid to his movement...

[Question] Despite the negotiations going on between the contact group (France, FRG, Canada, Great Britain, the United States) and the front-line states (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe), Namibia is still occupied by South Africa. By what other means can you hope to accelerate the move toward independence?

[Answer] By intensifying the armed struggle. We think that is the only way to accelerate our independence. It is both an effective technique and a strategy. Pretoria's political arrogance clearly shows that only the path of armed struggle will inevitably lead to a breakthrough in the Namibia independence negotiations.

[Question] What use is it to have a "council of state" in Namibian territory (put in place by South Africa's Administrator General, Willie Van Niekerk) when the state is ruled by a South African pro-consul?

[Answer] It is a deceptive maneuver to prolong an illegal and colonial occupation of Namibia. Logically, one cannot establish a "council of state" in a colony. Its only purpose is to serve the interests of the illegal South African regime and to resurrect the DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance].

The truth is that the "council of state" is going to fail, just like the DTA (the state structure created by Pretoria) did. The Namibian people have already demonstrated their opposition. So the "council of state" has been rejected by the Namibian people, and even by several of the puppets.

[Question] At the Second Conference to Support the Namibian People (held at UNESCO headquarters in Paris), South Africa and the United States were accused of delaying your country's independence. In addition, some African countries asserted that the contact group countries had failed in their mission. Does SWAPO still support the continuation of the contact group?

[Answer] During the Paris conference, SWAPO insistently demanded (but did not obtain) dissolution of the contact group. We have been in a deplorable situation for the last 6 years while the contact group has buckled under Pretoria's pressure. Instead of applying pressure on South Africa, the group always opted to make concessions to the detriment of SWAPO, thereby aiding the racist regime of Pretoria. During the last 6 years we have witnessed a massive effort to kill United Nations Resolution 435. The contact group has urged us, for example, to abandon the armed struggle. And finally we have seen "linkage" between the withdrawal of Cuban troops in Angola and Namibian independence. It was on this basis that SWAPO demanded dissolution of the contact group. A consensus was reached to refer the Namibian problem to the Security Council, which gave the UN secretary general, Javier Perez de Cuellar [as printed], a mandate to hold informal discussions.

[Question] Javier Perez de Cuellar visited Namibia in May of this year. Was his mission a positive step? If so, in what respects?

[Answer] The secretary general of the UN had a Security Council mandate to hold direct talks with the parties in the conflict: the illegal South African regime and SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. Javier Perez de Cuellar is to implement Resolution 532, which specifies the secretary general's obligation to submit a report on his activities to the Security Council. One cannot be very optimistic, because Pretoria has shown its disagreement by announcing creation of a council of state in Namibia.

[Question] Ronald Reagan reasons that the departure of South African forces from Namibia before the departure of the 20,000 Cuban soldiers in Angola could leave a politico-military vacuum which Moscow, through Havana, would exploit. Do you give credence to this theory espoused by the man in the White House?

[Answer] We are well acquainted with Ronald Reagan's imperialist and expansionist policy. SWAPO has already stated its position: independence should not be tied to the situation in Angola. Moreover, Angola is a sovereign state, which has the right to maintain whatever bilateral relations it wants, with whatever regime it wants. The precondition established by the United States is a pretext to prolong Pretoria's imperialist policy, while at the same time protecting its economic interests. SWAPO deplores, condemns and rejects that belligerent position and the famous ideas of Ronald Reagan about "protecting the security of legitimate interests in the region."

Security for whom? It is a policy of conspiracy. That is at the bottom of this imperialist strategy to preserve their economic interests in Namibia in particular and in southern Africa in general. It is also Ronald Reagan's policy to protect the domination exerted by the white minority in Namibia. South Africa continues to facilitate wholesale exploitation of the Namibian people by imperialist American multinationals.

[Question] Piether Willen Botha (South Africa's prime minister) said that there could be no "free and fair elections" in Namibia as long as the United Nations pursued its policy of favoritism to SWAPO. What do you think about such a statement?

[Answer] It is a monumental lie that the United Nations shows favoritism to SWAPO. The UN plan spelling out how elections are to be held has been carefully crafted. All political parties must be able to participate freely in the elections, under the supervision of the UN. What actually upsets Pieth Botha is SWAPO's popularity.

If free elections are held SWAPO will get the great majority of the votes. Botha's statement imposed a neo-colonial status on Namibia, which would continue to be a pawn of Pretoria.

[Question] Sam Nujoma, the head of SWAPO, is often described by South African leaders as a "Marxist terrorist." Are the South African racists so afraid of the Marxist line spouted by some of SWAPO's leaders?

[Answer] Sam Nujoma is a Namibian nationalist, an incontestable leader of SWAPO, a fighter for Namibia's total liberation. South Africa uses that term to try to frighten the white and black populations of Namibia. Marxism is depicted in the schools in Namibia and South Africa as a frightening thing. Marxism is likened to "Satan." Sam Nujoma is not a slave to ideology, and I do not think he is going to impose his own ideology on the Namibian people.

Pieth Botha cannot speak on behalf of the Namibian people, cannot reject Marxist ideology on their behalf...It is true that SWAPO maintains relations with the socialist countries like the USSR which are unconditionally providing arms for the struggle against the South African invader that is illegally occupying Namibia.

But, because the socialist countries are helping our movement, the Western countries try to treat SWAPO as a "Marxist terrorist organization." Who are the real terrorists? Who massacred 10 innocent Namibians at Oshikuku in 1983? Who massacred the Namibians at Windhoek in 1959? Who massacred the civilian population at Kassinga in 1978? With whose arms were these massacres perpetrated? These killings were carried out with arms manufactured in the Western countries. But these same countries refused to send us arms, arguing that their arms are for maintaining peace.

[Question] France often cites its rejection of the "linkage" created by South Africa and the United States. But beyond verbal action, what is the socialist government really doing for SWAPO?

[Answer] SWAPO approves Paris's position, which condemns the ostrich policy adopted by Ronald Reagan. Socialist France has taken a very bold position on that. Verbally, France opposes the policy of the contact group. However, Paris continues to sell nuclear technology to the South African regime. France also continues to participate in exploiting the mineral riches of Namibia (uranium) at Rhossing, and it exports that uranium for its industry. Now Decree No. 1 of the UN prohibits the exportation, importation or purchase of uranium, diamonds and other natural resources coming from Namibia.

The same socialist France of Francois Mitterrand has not accorded SWAPO any practical recognition as the sole and unique representative of Namibia. Of course, the current government has provided facilities enabling us to keep open an information bureau in Paris since 1981. Concretely, the position has not changed much, because Paris plays a double game and France remains in the camp of the Western imperialist countries.

[Question] Once Namibia becomes independent, what will be SWAPO's first priorities?

[Answer] To establish first of all in Namibia a democratic government founded on good will and the participation of all the Namibian people. This government is going to exert effective control, under majority rule, and it is going to follow a line that will attempt to put the country's resources in the hands of its own people. It will work urgently for the creation of a classless society, a society where the exploitation of man by man is eliminated, a society without oppression. That government will cooperate with all independent African countries and strengthen the unity of the OAU [Organization of African Unity]. The government is also going to cooperate with all freedom-loving countries in the world to promote peace and world security.

9516  
CSO: 3419/14

NEW FOREIGN EXCHANGE SYSTEM ANNOUNCED

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3451, 3 Oct 83 p 2324

[Text]

New foreign exchange arrangements in respect of the importation of goods have been announced following the abolition of the two-tier system last July, and the fixing of the rate of exchange at Le2.50 to the dollar. A release from the Bank of Sierra Leone announced that a foreign exchange allocation committee has been established to supervise the operation of the new allocation system. The committee comprises government representatives, the Bank of Sierra Leone, the commercial banks, the Chamber of Commerce, the manufacturing industry and the Sierra Leone Labour Congress.

The new system which replaces the tender system which was abolished in July requires that orders in respect of imports can only be placed: (a) after obtaining the necessary import licence and exchange control approval and (b) only against the establishment of letters of credit of local commercial banks or after receipt of foreign exchange on terms and conditions determined by the foreign exchange allocation committee.

The release emphasised that goods brought into the country in contravention of the regulations will be deemed to have been imported illegally, and will be confiscated and/or a fine imposed on the importer. The release added that goods imported under lines of credit and now at the quayside will be cleared through Customs without the payment of the 50 per cent deposit on the invoice value stipulated. Moreover, the leone value of deposits made in respect of such goods already cleared through customs will be released to the importer provided that there is a written undertaking not to request, at any time, foreign exchange for the settlement of invoices relating to such goods.

The system of importing goods against the utilisation of credit lines held abroad as well as any other form of special unnumbered licences have been banned. With regard to export, the release states that all exports except diamonds, shall now be made only against exports letters of credit opened with the Bank of Sierra Leone.

CSO: 3400/104

SIERRA LEONE

BRIEFS

NEW HOTEL MANAGEMENT--The management of three of Sierra Leone's top hotels is to be turned over to international financiers, according to an announcement by the Ministry of Tourism and Cultural Affairs. They are the Bintumani, Cape Sierra, and Lungi airport hotels. Meanwhile, a german entrepreneur, Mr. Arno Peter Dietzel is to set up a 400-bed luxury floating hotel off the coast of Freetown during the next tourist season. A 10-year agreement for the establishment of the ship hotel has been signed in Freetown by the Minister of Tourism and Cultural Affairs, Dr. I. M. Fofana on behalf of the government and Mr. Dietzel on behalf of his associates. The floating hotel is expected to be fitted with all the facilities of a first-class hotel, and will provide job opportunities for several Sierra Leoneans, according to sources close to Mr. Dietzel. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3451, 3 Oct 83 p 2324]

REGIONAL MINISTERS--According to a recent government Gazette. President Siaka Stevens has decided that the name of resident ministers has been redesignated and "shall henceforth and until further notice be known and referred to as "Regional Ministers." Similarly, the Minister of Interior will henceforth be known as Minister of Internal Affairs and his ministry, the Ministry of Internal Affairs. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3451, 3 Oct 83 p 2324]

KOROMA IN KOREA--A high-powered delegation led by First Vice President, Mr. S. I. Koroma recently participated in the 35th anniversary celebrations of the founding of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, in Pyongyang. The team also included the Minister of State and Leader of the House, Mr. Tom Smith, Mr. Hector Bultman of the APC Central Committee and a nominated Member of Parliament, Mr. Ibrahim Langley, who is also President of the Sierra Leone Labour Congress. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3451, 3 Oct 83 p 2324]

JORDANIAN AIR LINKS--The government of Sierra Leone and the Kingdom of Jordan have agreed to establish air links between their two countries. A delegation from Freetown headed by the Minister of Transport and Communication, Dr. A. F. Joe Jackson was in Jordan recently for talks on the issue, after which an air transport agreement was initialled. The necessary legal measures now have to be worked out in accordance with the respective constitutional procedures of both countries, after which the agreement will be signed and ratified. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3451, 3 Oct 83 p 2324]

CULTURAL DELEGATION VISITS CHINA--The Parliamentary Special Assistant in the Ministry of Tourism and Cultural Affairs, Mrs. Amy Hawa Kallon has led a three-strong delegation on a two-week visit to China as guests of the Chinese Association of Friendship for foreign countries. The delegation also includes the renowned artist, Mr. Hassan Bangura of the Mano River Union, and the acting general manager and editor of the Daily Mail, Mr. Arika Awuta Coker. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3451, 3 Oct 83 p 2324]

CSO: 3400/104

BRIEFS

FUTURE ROLE FOR BLACKS--The South African minister of constructional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, says there is nothing in the proposed new constitution for South Africa that says the black peoples are at the end of their own constitutional development. The black people already have more rights than the colored and Asian communities. Speaking in the eastern coastal city of Durban, Mr Heunis said the South African Government was continuing to work on the constitutional development of the black people. It was possible that the black peoples could eventually have what he referred to as their own city-states, and these could ultimately become part of a confederation of states. Mr Heunis said that change in South Africa was inevitable. He was of the opinion, however, that no matter what system South Africa adopted it would not satisfy the whole international community. [Text] [MB210750 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 21 Oct 83]

TRANSKEI LEADERS' ANNIVERSARY ADDRESSES--President Matanzima of Transkei says it has become clear that people in other countries such as the United States, Britain, Europe, and even in Africa are ignorant of the situation in Transkei. President Matazima was addressing a crowd of more than 1,000 people at Nqamakwe during the 7th anniversary celebrations of Transkei. He said that as an erstwhile Britain colony it was common cause that Transkei should have been granted freedom along the same lines as the former high commission territories of Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland, which are members of the United Nations. Addressing a gathering in Umtata, Prime Minister Chief George Mantanzima, said Transkei faced increasing unemployment which had been aggravated by the recent drought. He said that although it had been asserted in the past that agriculture was the backbone of the Transkeian economy, the drought of 1982-83 had highlighted the risk factor in agriculture.

CSO: 3400/133

CAUTION URGED IN INCREASING PRICES OF ESSENTIAL GOODS

Dar es Salaam MZALENDU in Swahili 9 Oct 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Our Views"]

[Text] The trade officer for Dar es Salaam Region, Vincent [sic] Mosha, announced the day before yesterday that the price of a half kilogram load of bread in this region has increased from 5 shillings to 6.15 shillings. He stated that this increase was caused by a 25 percent increase in the turnover tax. In past years, and especially before our independence and the first few years after independence, loaves of bread were [only] for some groups of people with good incomes. But, as a result of the stage of development which we have achieved, these loaves of bread are now standard food for nearly every person in our cities. For this reason, the increase in the price of a loaf of bread, undoubtedly will affect many citizens.

We know that our country, like many other countries in the world, is compelled to have procedures to collect the citizens' taxes in order to obtain money for the cost of our development programs and the service work of the community. Many citizens now are aware of this situation.

For more than 3 years, the government has been trying to cease increasing direct taxes in its annual estimates of income and expenditure. Similarly, recently the government objected to taxes which city and district councils wanted to collect in order to reduce the burden for citizens of paying more taxes than they are paying now. These councils were advised to develop another procedure for seeking income for themselves which would not strain the funds of their population.

But before these matters were relieved, the price commission announced yesterday price increases for 27 communities, including clothing, cooking oil, construction material, laundry and bath soap, matches, radios, sacks, mattresses, pails, dyes, nails, jars of tea, etc.

It will be remembered that recently the price of hoes was also increased. We should expect that as a result of the importance of hoes in our economy, their price would have been lowered instead of increased.

We are saying this because as a result of the real situation at present, many citizens strain themselves greatly in order to obtain their essential daily requirements as a result of taxes on and high prices of these requirements.

Often there are usually very basic reasons which make the prices of things increase. Truly, we cannot expect the prices of things to remain the same constantly. But we think that there is a considerable need to take care before taking steps to increase prices, especially for things which are for regular and necessary daily use for citizens. Because if citizens are unable to be well enough off to purchase things like these, their work productivity may be affected and our efforts to produce income hindered.

CSO: 3449/2

## BRIEFS

**FUEL SHORTAGES HAMPER HARVESTING**--Arusha--Arusha region requires 200,000 liters of diesel fuel and gasoline to resume the harvesting of coffee and wheat in the region. The Arusha regional commissioner, Ndugu Charles Kileo, said in Arusha that the stated quantity of fuel would have to be available within the next 2 weeks if the wheat crop which is deteriorating in the fields is to be saved. He said farming in the Arusha region greatly depends on the availability of fuel to operate harvesters and coffee drying and husking plants on large farms. The regional commissioner said that wheat harvesting in Oldiani and Karatu districts had come to a halt due to the nonavailability of diesel fuel for harvesters. He added that only half the crop in the region has been harvested. He also said that the picking and drying of coffee in Karatu, Oldiani, Arumeru and Munduli districts have come to a standstill because the diesel fuel and paraffin to dry the coffee beans are not available. Coffee husking has also been affected. [Text] [EA212223 Dar Es Salaam Domestic Service in Swahili 0700 GMT 21 Oct 83]

**NORWEGIAN AID PLEDGE**--Arusha--The Norwegian minister for foreign aid and development, Mrs Reidun Brusletten, left Arusha today for Nairobi, Kenya, at the end of a 1-week working visit to this country. The minister was escorted to Namanga on the Tanzania-Kenya border by government and party officials. She pledged that her country will give Tanzania aid worth 7.2 million shillings over a 4-year period starting from 1984. While in the country, apart from touring various projects run through Norwegian aid, Mrs Brusletten gave an assurance that her country will not reduce its aid to Tanzania. The minister also toured the Arusha game reserve. [Text] [EA240516 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service in Swahili 1000 GMT 23 Oct 83]

CSO: 3449/1

KENGO FINDS DETERIORATION, DISREPAIR IN EQUATEUR

Urge Infrastructure Repair

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 3 Aug 83 pp 1,7

[Text] Citizen Kengo Wa Dondo, first commissar of state, complained Monday in Gemena about the deterioration of administrative buildings, schools and hospitals in the Sud-Ubangui sub-region, during a working meeting he chaired which brought together the members of the sub-regional MPR [Popular Movement of the Revolution], the heads of state agencies and the members of ANEZA [National Association of Zairian Enterprises].

The first commissar of state called on the political-administrative authorities and businessmen of the sub-region to use creative imagination in rehabilitating the entire infrastructure of the sub-region, in the framework of decentralization and coordinated economic liberalism.

He asked about the utilization of the revenue collected in the territorial authorities in taxes and wondered whether Kinshasa's help would be needed in filling the potholes on the public roads, a job which was once taken care of by the roadmen.

He expressed surprise that the economic operators of the sub-region have done nothing to provide the schoolrooms with desks, or to rehabilitate the health care centers, both of which provide services to their children, brothers and sisters.

Citizen Kengo publicly chastized the conduct of the commissar of the Gemena area (an old pensioner with the territorial administration) and the commissar of Bujula for being more concerned with their businesses than their administrative responsibilities. In that connection he criticized the easy-going temperament of the sub-regional commissar, who has not taken action to deal with that situation.

He emphasized that fault is to be found both with actions taken and actions committed. The first commissar of state informed the businessmen that the "welfare state" is dead and economic liberalism is opening up a new era for the private sector. Henceforth, foreign exchange will not be allocated; economic operators will have to rely on themselves to generate the hard currency they need to import raw materials and spare parts.

To those who applied for credit for the agricultural season, Citizen Kengo replied that the Executive Council, which has become more liberal, cannot intervene with the financial institutions to obtain credit for economic operators. Besides, the commercial banks are a part of ANEZA.

#### Continues Visit

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 4 Aug 83 p 12

[Text] Citizen Kengo Wa Dondo, first commissar of state, and the Executive Council delegation accompanying him on his tour of the regions, arrived Tuesday at 1400 hours at Mbandaka for a 3-day stopover.

The first commissar of state was welcomed at the foot of the ramp by Citizen Sabi Ngapoum Mubiem, deputy governor; Citizen Kititwa Tumansi, the governor of the region, had welcomed him at Bumba, the first stopover on his visit to Equateur.

Citizen Kengo, who left Gomena Tuesday morning, stopped over for a few hours at Basankusu. At 1600 hours he started on his schedule of visits, including the naval shipyard of ONATRA [National Transportation Office], Bralima and the Bamania training center.

On Wednesday the first commissar of state made a brief trip to Boende, in the Tshuapa sub-region, in the morning.

Upon his return to Mbandaka he chaired a working meeting with the regional MPR committee, the economic operators and the division chiefs of governmental agencies. He is scheduled to return to Kinshasa on Thursday.

#### Sees Handicap to Development

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 6-7 Aug 83 pp 1,7

[Article by Monsa Iyaka Duku]

[Text] After leaving Butu, the chief town of the sub-region of Bas-Uele, the Executive Council delegation, traveling in a Hercules C-130 and a Scibe Air Life transport, came to Bumba, in the Equateur region. On their arrival, the first commissar of state and his retinue received the warmest welcome. Debarking from the airplane, Citizen Kengo wa Dondo was welcomed by Citizen Kititwa, member of the central committee and governor of the region. At his side was General of the Army Bumba Moasso Djogi.

In Bumba Citizen Kengo wa Dondo paid visits to several rice-mills, including the one belonging to SOCAM (Mongala Company), which is a new facility that produces something like 220 bags of rice per day. Then he went to the GRIZA (Great Rice Mills of Zaire) facility, which has a capacity of 150 bags per day. He also went to Nogueira, where he visited in turn the rice mill and the farm operated by the enterprise, which consists of a piggery and a hen-house. The piggery has a capacity of 2,000 head. There are plans to expand it by building a maternity unit.

At the offices of the National Rice Program (PNR) the first commissar of state took a keen interest in the continued smooth operation of that center. He took advantage of the opportunity to resolve some of the problems it was facing. Instructions were given to send two tractors and two trucks to the center immediately in order to improve operations.

#### Communication Links: A Handicap

Communications links unquestionably remain the major problem of the Equateur region. One cannot really speak of development until this problem is satisfactorily resolved. At every stop--in Bumba, Isala, Gbadolite, Lihenge, Gemena, Mbandaka--one heard the same refrain: give us good roads, build us metal bridges... Indeed, rapid circulation of people and goods is a crucial necessity for the region's economic operators. ANEZA's national president has underlined this: there are practically no good roads, i.e. asphalted roads, or modern ferry boats.

Naturally, these things are expensive today. A single kilometer of asphalted road currently costs \$350,000. But development requires roads. What can be done? The fact that the trip was made by air shows the relevance of the problem. It takes more than 4 hours to traverse the 150 kilometers of the Bumba-Lisala road, if it has not been raining. If it has been raining, it takes even longer. That is one point. The other is that modern bridges and ferry-boats are virtually nonexistent. Given ONATRA's insufficient resources and the very onerous cost of air transport, the economic operators have to practically work miracles to deliver and ship out agricultural products.

The situation is more alarming in the dry season, when the boats cannot travel their usual course because of sandbanks. This results in some sub-regions, such as Nord-Ubangi, experiencing great delays in the delivery of fuel, or not getting it at all. This in turn creates problems in supplies of energy and potable water.

At Bumba people expressed the desire to see the 200-kilometer-long Bumba-Aketi road, the Bumba-Lisala-Gemena road, and the Bumba-Yandongi-Abuzi-Yakoma road rehabilitated, and the renovation of the metal bridges over the Maindanyinda rivers. In Gemena, there were requests for the asphalting of the Akula-Gemena road and the sideroads to Chadolite and Libenge. The same story was heard at Lisla and Chadolite.

#### Comment on Trip

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 10 Aug 83 pp 1,6

[Commentary by Makoko Munshenie]

[Text] Wherever he went in the regions, of which Haut-Zaire and Equateur were the last two visited, Kengo wa Dondo, first commissar of state, minced no words when he spoke about development in the broadest possible sense. "The impetus and creative imagination must come first of all from the territorial authorities," he said at the working meetings he chaired at each stop of his

Inspection tour. The executive coordinator defended his point of view by citing the austerity measures currently in force in all the organs of the State Party.

But austerity for whom, and for how long? To that question, Kengo wa Dondo responded with points which he does not seem to believe will make the citizenry deliriously happy under present circumstances. This is especially true at a time when the state's budget has not risen back to its former levels and businesses suffering from the international economic crisis are simultaneously sending discreet distress signals to the public authorities asking for help in staying alive. They are in a dangerous position, said one influential member of ANEZA, and the help they are expecting does not appear to be enough to save them.

"We must prepare ourselves to endure the crisis, which may last a long time and which will have worldwide consequences." It was in something like these terms that the first commissar of state often expressed himself to the regional authorities, while urging them to redouble their efforts to surmount the problems of every kind that have resulted from the world crisis. But Kengo wa Dondo is not trying to sweeten the pill. No more do we hear assertions like "Soon the cows will be fat" or "Rapid growth is just around the corner."

Nevertheless, as a good executive coordinator, he did not fail to suggest several practical steps to lighten the social burden of the people, starting with exploitation of the region's economic assets. Henceforth, First Commis- sar of State Kengo wa Dondo is putting this world economic crisis--whose effects some have minimized or even denied in the past--squarely at the center of the Executive Council's daily concerns, as it gives urgency to the Presi- dent-Founder's appeals for improved production and strictness in the manage- ment of public affairs.

And this is certainly in part because he has believed, since the time Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko named him to Council House, that Zaire--thanks to joint efforts, to the sacrifices it can endure--should be able to avert the worst consequences of the world economic crisis by raising budgetary revenues and outlays, that the Executive Council must now practice and preach a policy which resolutely turns away from archaic methods of administration, for today as well as tomorrow.

At the end of 4 months of inspection tours around the country, the results appear both grim and full of useful lessons: public buildings dilapidated, in some cases even abandoned because of lack of upkeep; unuseable roads; salaries of government employees or teachers diverted or used oftentimes for secret purposes; no forceful initiatives to restore or organize the agricul- tural farms, etc.

But the first commissar of state still remains confident about the future of the regions, because in his view they constitute the matrix, the nucleus for all development in the country.

**Austerity for everyone.** That is to say that many Zairians in the middle and upper income brackets will have to lend their support for some months to come to the efforts unceasingly employed by the public authorities to ameliorate the effects of the world crisis.

Somber prospects, I will be told? Yes and no. Yes, because it is better for the people to be told, so they will know what must be done now, rather than for them to be completely overwhelmed by the crisis.

No, in the sense that a tremendous effort is under way, in terms of economic liberalization, with all the consequences resulting from it, particularly in the mining sector, where revenue generated by the sale of gold and diamonds is contributing to improve our external balance.

All the same, with regard to distribution and services--well-known for being highly susceptible to inflation--regulation must be more strict, in order to avoid overburdening families of modest means. For price liberalization is not a synonym for anarchy. Thus, liberalization must be accompanied by adequate regulatory measures so the people do not bear the cost. The weight of evidence indicates that this situation created by lack of regulation should not go on indefinitely; otherwise some social classes--several, in fact--will find themselves unable to procure the basic necessities for subsistence.

On the other hand, the public authorities should assist some enterprises which are really furthering the country's development to get out of their current predicament, by considering offering them access to interest rates which will be "deconnecces" [fixed-rate] and establishing moratoria when this is necessary to cope with their indebtedness. In other words, it will be necessary for the Central Bank and the private banks to work for a general lowering of interest rates.

But there is one vital area which Kengo wa Dondo has not talked about in the last few days: preparation of the 1984 budgetary forecasts.

Though the first commissar of state is temperamentally averse to making big speeches, he has not been exactly mute when it came to explaining the ins and outs of regional administrative budgets: how one must elaborate it starting from the level of the community, going through the levels of the zone and the sub-region, up to the regional level, by what administrative procedures it should be executed once it has been approved by the Legislative Council and promulgated by the President.

Kengo wa Dondo is staking the entire reputation of the Executive Council on the budget now in preparation for the next fiscal year.

But between the necessity of a vigorous struggle against waste and the imperative of putting an end to the slippage involved in certain prestige expenditures, the path that must be trod over the coming year by the executive coordinator is by no means lacking in pitfalls. In fact, people in economic and diplomatic circles are saying that by appointing him to Council House, the President-Founder was demonstrating his utmost confidence that Kengo wa Dondo

would be able to deal strictly and fairly with everyone, both in terms of issues between government agencies and in terms of the dialogue with the private sector.

It is generally believed, because of the current crisis, that to raise revenue there will probably be some new taxes, even if existing taxes are spread more evenly; but all the same there will inevitably be substantial simplifications. On the expenditures side, the Executive Council might tend to be selective, promoting a resumption of work toward modernizing the fabric of the economy. As soon as we get tough about operating expenditures and re-examine a number of appropriations, thus realizing some considerable savings, it will be easier to find the necessary revenue.

Without making the tax burden too harsh, a major effort of solidarity has been demanded this year. It will be necessary to renew it. But it may be difficult to go beyond that. Everyone knows the perverse effects of excessively high taxes: the spirit of initiative is discouraged, and inflation is encouraged. Moreover, this would still leave unresolved the problems of financing public services (increased costs for water and electricity, medical care, public transport, etc.) One must not overload the boat.

However that may be, the circuit of the regions has been made. Now it is time for the report on this important tour. Kengo wa Dondo doubtless has every reason to feel satisfied with his performance as missi dominici for Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko with the regional authorities. He will present a complete report to the President-Founder upon his return from the United States of America. During the trip he showed himself more of a pedagogue and pragmatist than an admirer.

Is it too early to speak of a profound upheaval in store for the regions in 1984? All that we can say is that the first commissar of state showed himself resolved to imprint a strengthened management style on regional administrations, as he has on some departments of the Council. A more traditional pyramid administrative structure will succeed the personalistic style of the despot. But this again depends on the action of the new personnel who will come with the restructuring. Put the right men in the right place. The slogan is clear. Competence, efficiency and honesty are required.

9516  
CSO: 3419/36

**KABWE INDUSTRIAL FABRICS MAKES FIRST PROFIT SINCE INCEPTION**

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 14 Oct 83 p 2

[Text] FOR the first time since its inception in 1968, Kabwe Industrial Fabrics has made a profit of K1,040,000 within five months from April to August this year, Indeco managing director Mr Dixie Zulu announced yesterday.

He said in Kabwe this success was against a sad background of poor performance of the company which had resulted in the accumulated loss of K8.7 million from the time it was set up on March 31.

Mr Zulu who is visiting Indeco subsidiaries from Kabwe to the Copperbelt accompanied by his deputy managing director (finance), Mrs Namukolo Silangwa, said from 1977 to 1978 the total sales of the company were K2,244 while the total loss was K1,390.

From 1978 to 1979, the sales were worth K3,678 and the loss K919 while total sales for the period 1979 to 1980 were K3,724 and recorded a loss of K1,223. During the 1980 to 1981 the sales were worth K6,097 and losses K934.

From the 1981 to last year, the sales were K6,691 and losses K228 while sales for the period 1982 to August this year were K9,122 with a profit of K656.

Mr. Zulu told management officials in the board room that this improvement in the performance of the company was because of their deliberate effort to improve production efficiency. He said the management had cut down on waste and recycled the scrap which used to be thrown away.

CSO: 3400/132

**ZAMBIA**

**FAMINE IN CHAMA, MPIKA DISTRICT REPORTED**

**Chama District Families Migrate**

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 19 Oct 83 p 5

**[Excerpts]**

MORE than 100 families of Chisunga in Chief Mulilo's area, Chama district have migrated to Muyombe in the Northern Province to look for food because of famine which has hit the area.

Chisunga ward chairman Mr Kennedy Sinyiza told area governor Mr Sande Goma that because of the drought experienced by some parts of the country

in the past two years people had no food and had now turned to unripe mangoes for food.

Mr Sinyiza asked the office of the governor to deliver bags of maize there immediately before elections next week so that people would stay in the area and participate in the presidential and parliamentary elections on October 27.

**ZAF Emergency Relief Operation**

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 19 Oct 83 p 5

**[Excerpt]**

And Zambia Air Force (ZAF) air support unit has launched an emergency relief operation to the Nabwalya area of Mpika district.

The operation in which two ZAF helicopters are ferrying mealie meal for sale to hunger-stricken villagers there started on Monday and is expected to go on for another nine days.

ZAF commander Major-General Annniah Lungu who visited the area with a Zane reporter yesterday said the famine had been caused by a severe drought at the last farming season.

CSO: 3400/132

**MEMACO DIRECTORS REPORT 1983 SALES NEGOTIATIONS 'VERY DIFFICULT'**

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 18 Oct 83 p 2

[Excerpt]

**THE Metal Marketing Corporation of Zambia (Memaco) had to struggle to finally sell 588,304 tonnes of copper because of various problems including uneconomic metal prices.**

According to the Memaco directors' report the 1983 sales negotiations were "very difficult" as customers in some countries resisted sales terms while other suppliers maintained the 1982 premiums or even reduced them.

Mr Mapoma, who is Zimco director-general, said the fact that the K3,753,000 pre-tax profit had been made against a background of severe economic constraints, was indicative that it was being operated by people with the required expertise.

But the director's report just released in Lusaka said refined copper production during the year was 575,518 tonnes which was about the same as that in the previous year.

Considering production levels of over 600,000 tonnes which have been attained in the

past tonnage achieved during the year reflected the serious difficulties posed by declining ore grades, uneconomic metal prices and the subsequent lack of sufficient foreign exchange for spare parts and which ZCCM continued to face."

The report observes that wirebar production in particular was adversely affected as Nkana operations were disrupted by a transformer blow-up in November.

Besides this calamity, technical problems were encountered periodically which resulted in the under-utilisation of smelter and tank house capacity. Production of cathodes on the other hand, particularly at Musfulira division, remained consistently higher than performance during the previous year.

In line with international demand, about 80 per cent of the total sales tonnage during the year were cathodes while

the balance was wirebars and other shapes.

But the corporation was able to sell all the copper that was available for 1983 by increasing sales tonnage in some countries and concluding business in new markets.

As in previous years, the corporation continued with the arrangements of copper exchanges. The total switch tonnage involved was 68,292 tonnes which was shipped to Europe, United States and India. Sales from France were 153,240 tonnes.

"Considering the keen competition in view of the substantial idle production capacity in Europe and new plants coming on stream there and in other markets the sales performance was satisfactory."

The average LME price for copper for the financial year was K1,478.22 a tonne compared with K1,485.70 during the previous year.

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**MINISTRY ASKED TO USE RESTRAINT IN GRANTING TEXTILE LICENSES**

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 19 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] PRESIDENT Kaunda has with immediate effect ordered the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to exercise restraint in granting licences in the textile industry before the situation gets out of hand.

He said there should be a limit to which new textile mills can be allowed to come into existence without seriously affecting the viability of existing investments in the industry.

Speaking when he commissioned the K28 million expansion project at the Kafue Textiles of Zambia yesterday, President Kaunda said the country could ill-afford to "pour" a lot of foreign exchange into acquiring additional plants and machinery "which will only result in rendering unviable those already in existence and in effect put them out of work".

Referring to the commissioning of the new plant, President Kaunda said this was not being done because of the presidential and parliamentary elections next week.

The project was completed within the framework of the plan of action spelt out by the Party and its manifesto for development projects between 1974 and 1984.

He said during the last ten years Zambia had established many industrial enterprises of which the Kafue Textile project was just an example.

"This is an achievement to be truly proud of as it clearly reflects the results of good industrial policies of the Party and its Government," said Dr Kaunda.

The ceremony was witnessed by Prime Minister Mundia, Secretary of State for Defence and Security Zulu, top Party and Government officials including Zimco director-general Mr James Mapoma.

Dr Kaunda said most of the important projects initiated since Independence had been undertaken by State companies in line with the Party's policy of State participation in industry.

## Policies

President Kaunda said State companies would continue to play an important role in the development of the nation and rapped critics of the Party's economic policies.

"We may be criticised for pursuing these policies and indeed there may be many who are busy wishing to undo our efforts mainly for their selfish ends, but we are proud to say that State companies have survived and will survive and multiply and even more important a good number of them are surviving viably and profitably."

The viability of such companies and their contribution to the national economy and the improvement of the standard of living of the people was the Party's main objective.

He noted that the establishment of the new plant would increase the labour force from 1,425 to 2,100 representing more than 50 per cent in additional new jobs when it comes into full production towards the end of the year.

But President Kaunda warned that there was a limit to which Zambia could allow more additional textile mills to come into existence without having an adverse effect on the already operating plants.

Advising the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to exercise restraint against wholesale granting of licences, President Kaunda said:

"I advise the minister of Commerce and Industry to be careful in considering new applications so as to safeguard against duplication.

"I call upon the minister to rationalise the textile industry right away and before it gets out of hand."

Following the commissioning of the new plant, the factory would increase its production capacity from 12 million metres of cloth a year to 18 million metres.

Indeco deputy managing director Mrs Namukolo Silangwa earlier said Kafue Textiles had submitted a feasibility study which showed that the manufacture of mealie meal bags could be viably undertaken by the factory and this had been accepted.

She said the commissioning of the expansion project had been successfully undertaken because of the enlightened policies of the Party and its Government which had in turn led to peace and security in the nation.

Among the major investors in the project Indeco, which had a 55 per cent stake, the Commonwealth Development Corporation with a 12.5 per cent investment, Textile Consult with a 22.5 per cent holding and 33 nominees holding ten per cent of the portfolio.

General manager Mr Rolf Klein informed President Kaunda that K7.2 million which represented 25 per cent of the expansion project was paid in cash by his company.

And with the stocks and assets it possessed the company on its own had been able to secure medium term loans for foreign exchange requirements from the International Finance Corporation, the Commonwealth Development Corporation and the Development Bank of Zambia.

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MUNDIA PRAISES COMPANIES MAKING REINVESTMENT LOANS

Lusaka DAILY MAIL in English 15 Oct 83 p 1

[Excerpt] PRIME Minister Malumino Mundia yesterday praised 42 international companies based in Zambia which have decided to lend the government K44.3 million for re-investment instead of externalising it as dividends.

An agreement on the loan was signed by Mr Mundia and Bank of Zambia governor Bitwell Kuwani on behalf of the Zambian government while Anglo-American Corporation (Central Africa) managing director, Mr Vernon Webber and his manager, Mr. Owen Phillips signed on behalf of the 42 companies.

Speaking at the Ministry of Finance offices after the signing of the loan agreement, Mr Mundia, who is also Minister of Finance, thanked Anglo-American Corporation and Mr Kuwani for carrying out the ground work for the loan agreement.

He said at present the government had about K500 million in the pipeline for externalisation but because of the financial constraints and foreign exchange problems the country has been facing, this had not been possible.

"K44.3 million is involved which has been removed from the pipeline and passed on to the government for re-investment," Mr Mundia said.

He said this was the beginning of the exercise and it was hoped that a large number of companies will be enticed to re-invest between K100 and K300 million during the following years.

"We are not only encouraging companies to lend to the government but to re-invest it in new projects. In this case they will get better terms on re-investment," he said.

Mr Mundia said already a number of companies had approached the Government, one to withdraw K5 million and another K3 million from the pipeline so as to re-invest it.

"I request Anglo-American Corporation to convene another group of people and explain to them the issues involved," he said.

He assured the companies that President Kaunda was happy with the exercise and it now could be seen that companies were fully participating in the development of the country.

He said the government was going to have three seminars on investment in the country at which various international companies were going to be invited.

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**KAUNDA SAYS GOVERNMENT DETERMINED TO MEET IMF CONDITIONS**

Lusaka DAILY MAIL in English 15 Oct 83 p 1

[Excerpt] THE PARTY and its government is determined to instil discipline in the economic sector and meet all the tough conditions set by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, President Kaunda said yesterday.

"We intend to work very hard and restructure our economy and meet our obligations to international lending institutions. We do not want to saddle our future with heavy debts," Dr Kaunda said before the start of talks with seven executive directors of the World Bank at State House.

He said, however, that the World Bank and its sister institution, the IMF, must also understand the problems that face Zambia, a landlocked country with a high import bill and an unfavourable balance of payment.

Dr Kaunda explained to the World Bank officials that the country's oil bill at the moment was about K250 million per annum and copper price on the world market had dropped but services from the developed countries had gone up.

"These are problems that we have no control over. The protectionist policies of the developed North do not help us in any way to restructure our economy," he said.

Dr Kaunda added that although Zambia complained about the tough conditions of the IMF, "deep in our hearts of hearts, we know that the conditions will help us resuscitate our economy and instil a sense of discipline in our industries."

"I am not trying to encourage you to be more difficult in future, but to assure you of our confidence in the conditions you set. We do not want to saddle our future with heavy debts and we know that your conditions are aimed at helping us to be self-reliant."

He said the Party was leading the people in working in a disciplined manner and urging them to make more sacrifices for the nation.

"Zambia understands fully the objectives of the World Bank. Is there anything the World Bank can do to assist us knowing fully well that we are determined to work in a disciplined manner?" Dr Kaunda asked.

He described the industrialised North as "stingy" and not willing to assist developing countries through buying of their commodities at favourable prices.

Dr Kaunda noted that some of the decisions which the government has taken in its efforts to revive the economy have been painful. "Decontrol was a painful exercise but necessary to our salvation."

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## BRIEFS

UNDP AGREEMENT SIGNED—ZAMBIA appreciates the various forms of assistance offered by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) without distortion of the aims. Foreign Affairs Minister Professor Lameck Goma said this at his office yesterday when he signed the Standard Basic Agreement with the UNDP. The Minister signed the agreement on behalf of the Zambian government while the UNDP resident representative Mr Dusan Dragic signed on behalf of the Organisation. Mr Dragic was accompanied by three officials. The agreement is the legal document which embodies the rights and obligations of the Zambian Government on one hand and of the UNDP and its executing agencies on the other with regard to UNDP's co-operation in the country. Professor Goma said the UNDP has played an important role in the nation's development and is part and parcel of the efforts made in improving the people's welfare. He told the delegation that such assistance was not only of economic nature but also cultural, social and political. [Excerpt] [Lusaka DAILY MAIL in English 15 Oct 83 p 5]

MAIZE BAGS MAROONED--ABOUT 15,000 bags of maize may be destroyed by rains in Muyombe and Thendere in Isoka district, if bridges are not repaired to enable trucks to reach the areas. Northern Cooperative Union (NCU) general manager Mr Longa Sichalwe disclosed this yesterday. He said people there were working hard to repair the bridges so that their produce could be collected. The union had asked them to deliver the maize to central places where it could be covered with tarpaulins. The NCU had so far collected 598,630 bags of paddy rice and paid out K11.7 million to farmers. In Lusaka, the provincial Cooperative and Marketing Union has taken measures to protect produce from the rains, general manager Mr Stephen Muyakwa said the union has covered the crops with tarpaulins. [Excerpt] [Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 18 Oct 83 p 1]

SMUGGLING ALONG FRONTIER 'RAMPANT'--SMUGGLING by some customs officers along frontier posts is rampant, controller of customs and excise Mr Japhter Nkunika said in Livingstone yesterday. He feared that the public who saw officers flout the laws of the country would feel that they had an equal right to do so and hence the endless scourge of smuggling. Officially opening a two-day 17th collectors annual conference at a Livingstone hotel. Mr Nkunika said although every effort was being made to combat smuggling, he felt it was the officer's degree of honesty which would deter would-be smugglers. "I understand that there are among us some officers who feel or think it is their

privilege to import goods without payment of duty. This I believe is rampant along frontier posts. "I am not aware of this prerequisite, and my copy of the Customs and Excise Act does not have these provisions and naturally members of the public who see you flout the laws of the country will feel they have an equal right to do so and hence the endless scourge of smuggling," Mr Nkunika said. [Excerpt] [Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 14 Oct 83 p 5]

CANADIAN WHEAT RESEARCH PROJECT--THE Canadian government is to spend about K10 million in the next six years on wheat growing research in Zambia, a spokesman for the Canadian high commission said in Lusaka yesterday. Counsellor in charge of development, Mr Bruce Wilson, said the research, which would cover various parts of Zambia was aimed at establishing the kind of wheat suitable for Zambia's climatic conditions. The Canadian government has already spent about K1.5 million over the past two years on the programme. Mr. Wilson said the main objective was to establish areas where wheat could be grown by rain-fed means which was much cheaper than irrigation schemes. "This is a good project we are carrying out for the benefit of peasant farmers who cannot afford to grow wheat by irrigation scheme," he said. Mr Wilson said the money would be given to the Zambian Government in the form of grants. [Excerpt] [Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 18 Oct 83 p 5]

UNIP HEADQUARTERS CONSTRUCTION--LONRHO Zambia Limited yesterday donated K208,000 towards the construction of the new Party headquarters and the election campaign. The donation was received at State House by President Kaunda from Lonrho Zambia chairman Mr Ton Mtine. Dr Kaunda commended Lonrho for the generous contribution and described the Lonrho chief executive, Mr Tinv Rowland as the most welcome capitalist to Zambia. "The way he eased himself out of the Times of Zambia when the Party moved in, shows the way he thinks about Zambia. He has shown us that capitalism can be in responsible hands," he said. "When we condemn capitalism, we do not mean to condemn capital as such. But to condemn capitalism which exploits." Dr Kaunda said the construction of the new Party headquarters was extremely important in that it was a key to the country's progress. "People who make decisions for the country need to be in good surroundings," he said. He recalled that the Party has from time to time been using Mr Mtine to campaign for funds for the Party since the pre-independence days, "however this is the biggest single contribution you have raised." [Excerpt] [Lusaka DAILY MAIL in English 15 Oct 83 p 1]

KAUNDA CANDIDACY ENDORSED--Zambian workers have a duty to ensure that the president is reelected on Thursday, to ensure continued freedom of the labor movement in the country. This is one of the resolutions passed at an extraordinary session of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions [ZCTU] executive committee meeting held in Kitwe on Saturday, under the aegis of ZCTU Secretary General (Milton Chimba). The ZCTU noted that Zambia was one of the four countries in Africa with a free labor movement, and its freedom is enshrined both in the republican and the party constitutions, which was endorsed from the strong views of the freedom of the movement. The resolution said: It is for this reason that the congress called upon all workers to support and insure that President Kaunda is given the much needed vote during the present project. [Text] [MB241351 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 24 Oct 83]

HARARE COMMENTS ON MUZOREWA'S VISIT TO ISRAEL

MB211955 Harare Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 21 Oct 83

[Station commentary]

[Text] We have reported in our news bulletins today that Bishop Abel Muzorewa is in Zionist Israel. He is reported to have gone to attend a religious conference. He is also reported to have told this religious conference that the prime minister, Comrade Robert Mugabe, and his popularly elected government should establish diplomatic links with Zionist Israel. Reports quote Muzorewa as saying Zimbabwe is losing out on agriculture and technology due to stupid political policy, at the expense of Zimbabwe's prosperity.

These are extremely irresponsible statements. The prime minister, Comrade Mugabe, was elected by the people of Zimbabwe to rule this country. His government is capable of making decisions which are best suited to the people of Zimbabwe. Why Zimbabwe (?does not have any) belief in Zionist Israel and apartheid-ruled South Africa should be very clear to all progressive persons and all those who respect human dignity. Zionism and apartheid are international crimes because they are based on racial superiority. This is anathema to Zimbabwe. Muzorewa, whose crimes are still fresh in our minds, has the audacity to travel to Zionist Israel in broad daylight and tell the world that the popularly elected government of Zimbabwe should dine and wine with (?racists and fascists).

If what Muzorewa is reported to have said is true, as we believe it is, he has no room in our midst. We believe that there are good reasons for the authorities to investigate thoroughly the reported utterances by Muzorewa. We are concerned because we do not believe that this man was attending a religious conference. Secondly, no responsible government which has the interests of its people at heart can stand by when its well thought out policies are referred to as stupid political policies.

We know that the prime minister has been magnanimous. But he also has been on record warning that his hand of friendship can be pulled [words indistinct]. It should be noted that we believe very strongly in the freedom of worship, speech and movement but we do not believe that such fundamental principles should be abused. When true Zimbabweans travel abroad, they defend their country. They speak well of their country's government. Only those with subversive intentions use the kind of language used by Muzorewa. Shall we not believe that Muzorewa, by visiting a country, whose policies we know are completely at variance with Zimbabwe's, is deliberating undermining the authority of our government? On whose side is he?

BRIEFS

HIGH COURT APPOINTMENT--Mr John Oliver Manyarara has been appointed a judge of the High Court of Zimbabwe. The appointment, which comes into effect Monday, was made in terms of subsection 2 of section 84 of the constitution. Mr Justice Manyarara was appointed president of the Administrative Court in January this year. [Text] [MB231147 Harare Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 22 Oct 83]

MUGABE OPENS TRAIN SERVICE--The prime minister, Comrade Robert Mugabe, this morning commissioned Zimbabwe's first electric passenger train service at Gweru railway station. ZIANA reports that as the train inched its way forward, blasting its horn and breaking a ribbon stretched across the line, a large crowd erupted into cheering and chanting. The historic occasion was witnessed by the deputy prime minister, Comrade Simon Muzenda; the minister of transport, Comrade Farai Masango; other government ministers, members of the diplomatic corps, and civic leaders. The prime minister was given a red-carpet welcome when the train arrived in Kwe Kwe. [Text] [MB231147 Harare Domestic Service in English 1115 GMT 22 Oct 83]

WAGE, SALARY POLICY--The minister of labor and social services, Comrade Kumbirai Kangai, has reacted to press reports that the national union of the clothing industry might take him to court on its wage dispute with the clothing manufacturers. Comrade Kangai told newsmen yesterday that the government will make no exceptions when awarding wage and salary increments. He said the dispute referred to took place before the government had taken a position on the question of wage and salary increments, which became effective on 1 September. The minister said the union has no basis on which to take the government to court. Noting that the clothing and mining industries have been the worst hit by the drought and depression, Comrade Kangai said that the union workers will not get preferential treatment. An official of the clothing industry union told the Sunday mail that according to the industrial conciliation act, Comrade Kangai should have appointed an industrial tribunal to look into the dispute. The official said the matter had been handed over to the ombudsman because of the minister's inaction. [Text] [MB240834 Harare Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 24 Oct 83]

MAIZE MILL OPENS--The government wants equal development in all parts of Zimbabwe so that people will stop going into the already overcrowded towns. The deputy prime minister, Comrade Simon Muzenda, made this statement in a speech read on his behalf at the official opening of the national foods maize mill in

(Mashingo) by the minister of trade and commerce, Comrade Richard Hove. He said the national foods effort in establishing depots throughout the country is commendable, and it is appreciated because the action proves that the firm has confidence in the future of the country. The statement also touched on the achievement of the establishment through cooperation between members of the firm, management and the government. Comrade Hove said it was also [words indistinct] that much of the machinery and materials used in the construction of the maize mill were made in Zimbabwe. He said of a total of 4,448 employees of the company, 117 have started working at the new maize mill, some of whom have just completed a course in first-aid. [Text] [MB231230 Harare Domestic Service in English 1115 GMT 23 Oct 83]

COOPERATION WITH ETHIOPIA--Zimbabwe's minister of foreign affairs, Farai Mabango, and his Ethiopian counterpart, Yusuf Ahmed, have begun talks on developing bilateral cooperation in the field of transportation, according to a report Monday from the Ethiopian capital. The two ministers specifically discussed the project prepared by Ethiopian experts on ways to rationalize and develop commercial aviation in Zimbabwe. You will recall that Ethiopia and Zimbabwe signed an agreement protocol on cooperation in the field of transportation during Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam's recent official visit. Ethiopia in turn wants to take advantage of Zimbabwe's long experience in railways. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 21 Sep 83 p 12] 9805

AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH CANADA--Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, on an official visit to Canada, signed a contract for \$500,000 with the Canadian telecommunications firm at a meeting on Monday with Canadian Finance Minister Marc Galonne. This sum will be used to set up a radio telecommunications system. The State of Quebec will export to Zimbabwe electrical equipment, technology for processing amianthus and locomotives, Quebec's minister of foreign trade reported on Monday. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 21 Sep 83 p 12] 9805

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